

25 CENTS

# The ARENA

THE WORLD'S LEADING REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1903

**Editorial Staff**

Charles Brodie Patterson  
E. O. Flower

**Board of Associates**

Rev. E. Hober Newton, D.D.  
Edwin Markham  
Prof. Frank Parsons  
Elitwood Pomeroy, A.M.  
Prof. John Ward Stimson  
Rev. Adolph Roeder  
George McA. Miller, Ph.D.  
Carl Vrooman  
Ernest Crosby  
Bolton Hall  
Ralph Waldo Trine  
George F. Washburn  
Rev. Robert E. Blaboe  
F. Edwin Elwell  
Prof. Thomas E. Will.

**Special Contributors**

Chief Justice Walter Clark,  
of North Carolina  
Hon. Samuel M. Jones  
Hon. Boyd Winchester  
Dr. Henrik G. Petersen  
Edwin Maxey, LL.D.

OLD FOES WITH NEW FACES . . . . .	WALTER CLARK, LL.D. Chief Justice of North Carolina
EMERSON, THE MAN . . . . .	R. HEBER NEWTON, D.D.
MOB RULE . . . . .	PROF. EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D.
NATIONAL CURRENCY OR BANK CURRENCY? . . . . .	WHARTON BARKER, A.M.
SHOULD THE PEOPLE OR THE CORPORATIONS LIGHT OUR CITIES? . . . . .	HON. FREDERICK F. INGRAM Com. of Public Lighting for Detroit
EDUCATION FOR THE HOME . . . . .	PROF. OSCAR CHEISMAN, Ph.D. [Jena] University of Ohio
NECESSITY FOR THE PEOPLES PARTY . . . . .	HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN Ex-United States Senator from Nebraska
THE DIGNITY OF LABOR . . . . .	F. EDWIN ELWELL
A NEGLECTED PHASE OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM . . . . .	R. H. KNORR
MODERN PARABLES AND FABLES . . . . .	BOLTON HALL
TOPICS OF THE TIMES—(Editorial) . . . . .	R. O. FLOWER
The Present Struggle Between Reaction and Democracy in Europe and America—Material Prosperity and Permanent Greatness— Human Achievement and Sordid Gain.	
BOOKS OF THE DAY . . . . .	Studies and Reviews
A Prince of Sinners—The Main Chance—Reform in the Jungle.	
NOTES AND COMMENTS . . . . .	B. O. F.

Vol. XXX. No. 4. \* \* \* \* \* Per Annum, \$2.50

569 FIFTH AVE. THE ALLIANCE PUBLISHING CO. NEW YORK

LONDON: Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford St., Strand. } Foreign Subscriptions.  
MELBOURNE: C. G. Turri & Co., Salisbury Bldg. } Twelve, Sixtings.

# Six Fast Trains

The Chicago & North-Western Railway, the Pioneer Line to the West and Northwest, and the only double-track railway between Chicago and the Missouri River, is famous for a superb service that provides for patrons

## *The Best of Everything*

The following trains from Chicago  
via



Are especially notable for perfection of service.

## **The Overland Limited**

Less than three days to California.

## **Chicago-Portland Special**

Three days to Oregon and Washington.

## **The Colorado Special**

Only one night to Denver.

## **The North-Western Limited**

To St. Paul and Minneapolis—Electric Lighted.

## **The Duluth Fast Mail**

Fast train to the Head of the Lakes.

## **Copper Country Express**

To Marquette and Lake Superior points.

For tickets, maps, time tables and full information apply to any ticket agent or address

**W. B. KNISKERN,**  
PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER,  
CHICAGO, ILL.

NW65

# STALL'S BOOKS



SYLVANUS STALL, D.D.

## **A Man with a Message**

Millions of people always await the man with a real message. Dr. Stall has found it so. His books are already circulated in every land.

278th thousand in English.

They are being translated into several languages in Europe and two in Asia.

## **THE SELF AND SEX SERIES**

has the unqualified endorsement of

**Dr. Joseph Cook**  
**Rev. C. M. Sheldon**  
**Rev. F. B. Meyer**  
**Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler**  
**Dr. Francis E. Clark**  
Eminent physicians, and hundreds of others.

**Bishop Vincent**  
**Anthony Comstock**  
**Pansy**  
**Frances E. Willard**  
**Lady H. Somerset**

**4 BOOKS TO MEN.** By Sylvanus Stall D.D.

**What a Young Boy Ought to Know.**

**What a Young Man Ought to Know.**

**What a Young Husband Ought to Know.**

**What a Man of 45 Ought to Know.**

**4 BOOKS TO WOMEN.** By Mrs. Mary Wood-Allen, M.D., and Mrs. Emma F. A. Drake, M.D.

**What a Young Girl Ought to Know.**

**What a Young Woman Ought to Know.**

**What a Young Wife Ought to Know.**

**What a Woman of 45 Ought to Know.**

\$1 per copy, post free. Send for table of contents.

**Vir Publishing Co.** 2773 Real Estate Trust Building, Philadelphia.

"The heart of the continent"

## 11,126 MILES

of railway east of Chicago, St. Louis and the Mississippi River, with eastern terminals at New York, Boston and Montreal, are embraced in the

## **NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES.**

For No. 5 of the Four-Track Series, containing a map showing this Central Railway System of America, send a two cent stamp to George H. Daniels, General Passenger Agent, New York Central R. R., Grand Central Station, New York.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

---

# THE ARENA

---

VOL. XXX.

OCTOBER, 1903.

---

No. 4.

OLD FOES WITH NEW FACES.

HOOKEE eloquently said "Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power." He was however speaking of law in its broadest sense. Municipal law is usually defined as a "rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in the State, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." But since what the supreme power commands is necessarily right from the standpoint of legality and what it prohibits is wrong, it would be more correct to say simply that law is the will of the supreme power in the State. What is that Supreme Power? That is the question always debated and never more acutely than now. A free country is one where public opinion is the supreme power and where the will of the majority faithfully formulated by the public servants freely chosen is duly executed. As Edmund Burke once said, "The people may be deceived in their choice of an object, but I can scarcely conceive of any choice they can make to be so mischievous as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it."

The history of man has been one continuous struggle to

obtain control of the law making power; for whatever person or party could obtain the mastery could impose, and they have imposed, their will upon the weaker, making the labors and toil of the latter contribute to the ease and comfort of those who made the law. Reduced to its last analysis, the history of mankind has been the story of an economic struggle among men for a wider feeding ground, a greater share of the comforts and the luxuries of life. The law at any given time is the record of what the stronger have decreed in their own interest. The greatest good to the greatest number is the foundation principle of a republic.

In the dawn of history, brute force, backed by an army paid out of the plunder of the unfortunate, kept the many under subjection and the army was aided in this work by the ministers of superstition, paid in like manner. These in later times alternately frightened the ignorant by the terrors of hell or soothed them with promises of compensation in another world for the hardships experienced in this.

As the next evolution the higher class forced the despot to admit them to participation in the sharing of the wealth produced by the masses and became hereditary nobles. From time to time the great mass of toilers have groaned and moved uneasily beneath their burdens, like Enceladus beneath Etna. Hence, there have been insurrections, changes of dynasties, conquests, which last were usually a change of masters.

Then there came our own movement, a little more than a century ago, to abolish the whole unnecessary load—King, nobles, state church, special privileges, all, and men thought they were free. But the burden was not merely in names, but in the thing itself, and when under the name of trusts, monopolies, and corporations the same control is exercised in giving to the few the earnings of the many, humanity has found in the opening of the Twentieth Century that we have again before us the same fight, old as history, of the few attempting to appropriate to their own pleasure and gratification the wealth created by the toil and the agony of the many.



We have the same

OLD FOES WITH NEW FACES.

Let us contrast that which has been with that which is. On the banks of the Nile stands the Pyramids. To build one of those Pyramids cost the unrequited labor of 360,000 men for twenty years. We know that it took 2,000 men three years to carry a single stone from Elephantine to Sais. Records which have come to light in the last few years corroborate these statements of the old historian (Diodorus Siculus) and show that these men toiled under the lash with no return save barely enough leeks, onions, and bread to keep them alive. When all was done, the completed work was appropriately a tomb, useless for all time, save to gratify the desire for fame of some now nameless king. Thus was squandered away the lives and labor of the people. The palace of Versailles cost the lives of another 100,000 men to minister to the vanity of a later king, and earth and its history have been marred by many another memorial of like nature.

On the same river Nile, further up at Assouan, in this present year, another great work has been completed. It is a great dam a mile and a quarter long, which bars the rushing river and preserves the waters to be led by irrigating ditches to fructify the soil and add many millions of acres to be tilled by the husbandman. It is not an idle tomb to gratify a tyrant's insensate vanity, no lash swung over the backs of unwilling laborers, and they received their modest wages in due season. Modern machinery lightened the expense and millions were spent in a work that will furnish subsistence to an increased population.

But is there much change? British soldiers took and hold Egypt that British millionaires may receive dividends on Egyptian bonds bought at a discount, and the laborer is left the barest necessities of life. The Assouan dam increases the available territory and the number of laborers who may toil for the bondholders. The tribute is collected with more humanity and more decency, and modern intelligence has supplied the means by which the laborer may create greater wealth.

The net profit of the labor goes not to Pharaoh, but to the British bondholder. He has his vanities to gratify, his own method of squandering the product of a nation's labor, which the British army and the British government collect and bring to him. His pet vanity does not happen to be a pile of rock in the desert as a tomb.

But, as regards the fellaheen by the Nile, wherein is their condition substantially different in this year of grace from that of their nameless ancestors who bowed their backs and toiled in poverty and pain that a privileged few should live in luxury in the thirtieth or thirty-second century before Christ? What alleviation of toil, how much nearer the enjoyment of a fair share of the product of his own labor has the passage of fifty centuries brought to him in Egypt who creates by his toil the good things of life?

To-day countless thousands in our Republic are asking themselves a similar question. When they look upon a million-dollars-a-year salary to a Steel Trust President, and hundred-thousand-dollar salaries to many others, when they see the palaces, the steel yachts, the appliances and luxuries of countless wealth which are daily flaunted before those who created but do not enjoy that wealth, and then turn to their own squalid surroundings, they are debating the justice of the present distribution of wealth, for all wealth is produced, and can be produced, by labor only. Whatever is unjust must perish. These men are not Egyptian fellaheen, and when they demand they will not be denied. There is no higher power in this land than the will of the people when they make up their mind. It is wisdom, the highest wisdom, to discuss, not put out of sight, these social problems and aid if we can towards a just solution; for solved they will be, in some way. The present arrangement can not, and will not abide. Henry George well said: "To educate men who must be condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal is to stand a pyramid on its apex." A million bayonets cannot support such a pyramid upon their points.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

But it has never been the accumulation of wealth that has brought ills to any people, nor caused men to decay. The increase of wealth should bring progress and development, a better fed, a better housed, a better educated, a more leisured, and a nobler race. But the unequal distribution of that wealth, its accumulation in a few hands, leaving the mass of wealth producers in poverty and neglect—it is this that has always brought down great empires and destroyed great nations.

The Persians, a noble mountain race, increased in wealth and developed their great conquered territories. When by the law-making power that wealth was permitted to accumulate in the hands of a few noblemen, 30,000 Greeks under Alexander doubled up the vast empire like a paper bag.

When the *Roman Peace* brooded over the countries around the Mediterranean, population and wealth multiplied, being no longer destroyed in tribal wars. But property passing afterwards into a few hands, the number of the people decreased till the barbarians of the frozen North burst through the depleted Roman legions and sweeping over vast tracts where the people had ceased to breed, laid the civilization of a thousand years in the dust. The historian tersely tells us "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam*"—"Great estates destroyed Italy."

Out of the wreck rose new kingdoms, dukedoms, countships. The leaders took the lands as hereditary nobles, placed their followers thereon as tenants, the conquered inhabitants as serfs and called in the aid of religion to strengthen by its influence over the minds of men the terror which carnal weapons had for their bodies. Again and again the subject masses moved uneasily beneath their burden of king, knight and priest. In one blinding flash of light there came the French Revolution. It was the retribution for a thousand years of oppression and wrongs uncounted. As Carlyle said, it was "Truth clad in hell-fire." It was a revolution led and controlled by the upper-middle class. The working class had slight hand in it, except to a small extent in the year 1793. A few thousand

heads fell beneath the guillotine. Of this crime, aristocratic writers have made the most, writing for aristocratic readers, but the sober truth is that all the executions by the guillotine in the Revolution added together did not equal half the number put to death unjustly, or starved to death, by oppression in any one year of the two preceding centuries. The permanent reforms brought about by that great upheaval have affected the whole world. Mankind would still be on a far lower level if the French Revolution had not occurred.

The greatest soldier of the modern world climbed to power on the shoulders of the armies the republic had created. As long as he was democratic France acquiesced. But when forgetting the source of his power he took a daughter of the Hapsburgs to wife thus announcing his adhesion to the past, the French people withdrew their support and when banded kings again pressed him, he fell. The army restored him in 1815, but the people were no longer with him and he fell again, never to rise. In 1830, in 1848, and in 1870 the French people again and again returned to their Republican faith, till now neither army nor banded sovereigns dispute the popular will.

In England in 1215 the nobles won from the sovereign the right to share in the product of the toiling masses. Near the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the middle classes, restive under the exactions of monopolies granted by the crown, demanded their abolition. The wise old queen knew when to yield. She yielded and died with her crown on her head. A struggle between the upper middle classes on one side and the crown and nobility on the other broke out half a century later, and Charles I, not knowing how to yield lost his head. Twelve years later his son making the concessions his father should have made was restored, but his brother, James II, not keeping faith, again lost the kingdom which was henceforth ruled by the upper class, jointly with the nobility and the king. That was the purport of the "glorious Revolution of 1688." In 1776 we resolved to abolish all special privileges and all government in the interest of the few, to do away with king, nobles, privileged classes, and put the government in the hands of

the whole people. Our example moved the French leaders of thought and accelerated the French Revolution. The excesses and atrocities of that Revolution, aided by centuries of national hostility to the French, kept back the popular feeling which had been created in England by our success. In 1832, the form of the English Monarchy was saved by the monarchy, the nobility, and the gentry abdicating their rule in favor of a government by the people. Since then England has been, in all but name a Republic. Its government is by a committee of the majority party in the lower House of Parliament. The King is a name only, with a big salary, and the House of Lords is a mere survival from other times, without practical power. Throughout the civilized world all kings now hold their positions only by sufferance, save in Russia, where the government is a machine, a bureaucracy, held in place by the Army, with a powerless Czar and a restless people.

This brief recital shows that history has been a long economic struggle by the wealth producers, and that civilization has been exactly measured by the successive rise of the different strata of society to power. First the king was absolute, then the nobility forced him to admit them to a share in the enjoyment of the wealth created by the toilers, then the upper middle class, and then the lower middle class forced admission, and then nominally the whole people were admitted to a partnership in government. I say nominally, for nowhere have the real wealth producers, the toilers, actually asserted their full weight, for had they done so they would have been the government, being more numerous than all other classes. The labor Unions, the boycotts, the strikes, in this country, the casting by the Socialists in Germany at the June election this year of more than 3,000,000 votes, being more than a third of the whole vote cast, demonstrate that the creators of wealth are determined now to have a larger share of the wealth created by their labor.

Simultaneously with this movement, we see the reactionary movement to aggregate all wealth in the hands of a few multimillionaires. These as of old give themselves aliases. For-



merly their aliases were Duke of so and so, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron, Count, Prince. That old world mummery is out of date. Now one takes the alias of "Standard Oil Company," another "The American Steel and Iron Company," the "Pacific Railway," "The American Tobacco Company," and so on.

Which force will win? These "old foes with new faces," these new claimants to appropriate the wealth of the nation to their own uses; these successors of those who have been repudiated by every nation in turn—or the new forces of organized labor? The conflict is on and is irrepressible. The vast mass of the nation outside of the two opposing lines look with doubt and distrust upon the labor organizations, for they do not know yet how far they will go. This intermediate mass of the nation is opposed to the Trusts, and to all rule by Corporations. If convinced that organized labor meditates no attack upon the rights of private property and no control of government in their own special interests but that each man shall be free to own and enjoy that which he has honestly earned, then labor and the great bulk of the people, the farmers, the merchants, the professions (outside of those employed by the Trusts) may unite and terminate the predominance which is given in practise, though not in our form of government, to aggregated, consolidated wealth. Napoleon said that an "army went on its belly," meaning that the first problem in war was the feeding of the fighters. So whatever power controls the distribution of wealth, and decides the comfort, the sustenance, the material welfare to be allotted to the masses is the real government. That power is not at Washington, nor at the State capitals. All legislation against the power of Trusts has proved nugatory. The real government of this country to-day in this respect is in the hands of these last who have shown themselves stronger than the law. So in Rome, the standards and the coins bore the superscription "The Senate and the Roman People" and there were Consuls and a Senate and other republican forms, unimpaired, long centuries after all government had been centred in the Pretorian Cohort and its chief.

By reason of the vast improvements in machinery, a laborer can now often produce twenty times as much as formerly, sometimes fifty times as much, in some cases two hundred times as much or even one thousand times. The skilled laborer is entitled to a fair share of this increased product. As a rule, he is not getting it. The consumer, too, is entitled to a fair share in the reduction of the cost of production. He is not getting it. The vast bulk of profit caused by the introduction of machinery and of modern improvements is confiscated to the benefit of a bare handful of men, by the combination of capital into trusts and great corporations. The chief beneficiaries, the multimillionaires, number less than 10,000. Their dependents, their families, their hirelings, may possibly foot up to a total of half a million. There are eighty millions on the other side. How long will this state of things last? It only exists now till the public can be satisfied as to the best way to destroy the system without injury to the established rights of property and to our other constitutional guarantees.

The earnings of the United States Steel Company, the Standard Oil Company, and two or three other trusts last year as reported by themselves were eleven-twentieths of the total increase of wealth in the whole country, and there are two hundred smaller trusts to satisfy before the consumers and producers, the great body of the people, can share in the annual increase of wealth. Every man is entitled to the advantages given him by his superior diligence and ability, but every one knows that Carnegie's \$200,000,000, Rockefeller's \$400,000,000, Morgan's \$100,000,000 have not been obtained in that way, but by methods which have stripped countless thousands of their fair share in the vast annual increase of wealth.

Owing to machinery, we far surpass all preceding ages in the *creation* of wealth. In the just *distribution* of this increase our methods are defective to the last degree, and nowhere more so than in this country. We are suffering from *Economic Indigestion* in its most aggravated form. In all history, whenever the body politic has suffered from such ills, if relief did not come, political convulsions and revolution have followed.

By the statutes of the United States (1890, ch. 647) and of nearly every State in the Union, Trusts are illegal and their officers indictable. In not a single instance has a trust been broken up by the enforcement of a statute. This shows that while the popular will has forced its expression by Congress and the State legislatures, there is a power greater than the law. Plain as is the Federal statute this section of the country has known of but one attempt to enforce it. Then the District Attorney, a brave, honest, and able man, was on the point of convicting the American Tobacco Company, when he suddenly received a telegram from the Attorney General to come to Washington. There he found the Attorney General closeted with the general counsel of the Trust and a United States Senator from that State. On the demand of these two, the Attorney General ordered a *nol pros* to be entered, which the District Attorney refused to obey till the order was put in writing. The Senator had made himself solid with the people by voting publicly for the statute to make trusts indictable. Then through the back door of the temple of justice he protected the trust from punishment under it. Similar scenes have doubtless occurred elsewhere. There must have been strong pressure to prevent prosecution all these years. The lawlessness of great wealth is felt daily, yet its owners are the first to denounce any lawlessness when directed against themselves, by appeal to the Injunctive process of the courts, and by calls on the executive for troops. The Trusts and great corporations alone are privileged to disregard the law!

Can we do better than to discuss this anomaly, this *imperium in imperio*, which uses the law for its own protection, but does not obey the law. We may consider first, What methods this lawless wealth uses; second, Upon what does it rely, to maintain its supremacy over the law; third, By what means can it be subjected to the control of the laws.

The mere formation of great corporations is no ground of complaint. Indeed, large corporations are often beneficial when they effect economies enabling them to place the manufactured article in reach of the consumer at a reduced price

without reducing the price paid for the raw article in the hands of the producers. Great aggregations are due to the natural tendency of the age. They do not necessarily mean greater individual fortunes. When, however, great aggregations of capital seek to secure still larger returns by forcing out competition thus enabling them to reduce prices to the producer of the raw material and to raise prices to the consumer, they place their hands upon the very throat of the people, and by illegal and forbidden methods gather larger revenues than government. It is these last, *the monopolies fixing prices*, which crush the life out of the people.

One of the great agencies and, perhaps, exclusive of the tariff, of which I need not speak, the greatest agency by which trusts attain this power is by railroad favoritism. We know that it was shown in a legal trial that a great railroad system charged the Standard Oil Company ten cents for service for which they charged all others thirty-five cents, and not only that, but the extra twenty-five cents collected out of the latter were paid over to the Standard Oil Company, as a bonus! When those thus discriminated against built a Pipe line, the railroad put down rates so low that its general manager testified that the receipts from oil transportation would not pay for axle grease on its cars. Then when the Pipe line was forced out, prices went back.

This and similar instances, familiar to all, tell how the Standard Oil and similar Trusts have confiscated the property of thousands. The American Tobacco Company has systematically pursued the same course. Wherever it found a man or a company occupied in selling or manufacturing tobacco, it would sell its goods at a lower price, or even give them away, till the competitor was destroyed, and then immediately prices to the tobacco raiser would go down and prices to the consumer would go higher. This is simply robbery of both classes. It destroys, besides, competition and with it opportunity for livelihood to thousands.

This is probably the most common method of oppression used by those irresponsible aggregations of capital who use

the corporate powers given them by the public to the detriment of their creator. Last year the American Tobacco Company failing to crush out the Imperial Tobacco Company in this mode prices went up. Then they combined and prices are now put down below the cost of production that the farmers shall pay back what they got by last year's competition and more.

Another most prolific source of illegal accumulation has been the evasion by trusts and great corporations of the payment of a fair share of taxation to the support of government. Their great influence has enabled them to do this nearly everywhere and thus to throw upon all others an undue share of the increasing burdens of government. The Federal income tax, which was held constitutional for a century would have realized about \$100,000,000 a year, but it was suddenly set aside by the change of view of one judge (who had previously held it constitutional) and thus that sum was transferred from those best able to bear taxation and placed upon those least able to bear it. In the ten years since that decision the people at large have lost and aggregated wealth has gained one thousand million dollars by this change of vote by one judge—a high price to pay for the exercise of irresponsible power by a public servant in whose selection the people had no voice! A dissenting opinion in that case stated forcibly that the decision was a long step towards “a sordid despotism of wealth.” Then in not half a dozen States probably are the great corporations assessed at the fair value of their franchises and other property. Several years ago public opinion forced the creation of Railroad Commissions to make just assessments of railroads, franchises and property and regulation of their charges. But the expectation has been futile. In nearly half a dozen States, not more, there has been an approximation to just taxation and a regulation of rates, but in no case has it been due to a railroad Commission. The Supreme Court of the United States (R. R. tax cases 92 U. S. 601), speaking through Judge Miller, laid down the simple rule for the valuation of corporation property “the market value of the bonds plus the market value of the stock,” but how many corporations are thus assessed? The



producing masses are made to pay for them the tax on the unlisted difference just as they make good out of their scanty earnings the taxes great wealth should pay on its income. In *Wellman v. R. R.*, 143 U. S., the highest court in the Republic has said that if the railroad charges were reduced to rates that would earn four per cent. on the net value of their property the courts could not interfere. But what Railroad Commission has seen fit to give the people the relief authorized by these two decisions? To cite but two instances:

First, there is the mandamus brought by the brave little school teacher in Chicago, Catharine Goggin, to compel a just valuation of the property of 13 corporations alleged to be worth \$235,000,000 and which had been assessed for less than half a million. The court (191 Ill. 528) held that the just rule was that laid down by Judge Miller (92 U. S. 601) already cited *i.e.*, "the market value of the bonds plus the market value of the stocks." After appeal by the corporations, one company through its counsel appeared before the court and offered to dismiss its appeal if its assessment was put at \$39,000,000. This is a fair sample of what injustice the masses suffer and what may be done by one determined person.

In my own State in 1890 the railroads gave in the cost of their property to the Census Bureau at \$151,000,000 and the same year listed its value for taxation at \$12,000,000! The public at large, of course, had to make up the tax the railroads should have paid on the unlisted difference. When, after many years delay and after the railways had added several hundred miles to their length and otherwise increased in value, the Railroad Commission modestly raised the valuation to \$40,000,000 a federal judge was found to enjoin it, but the farce was so broad the injunction was finally dropped.

It would be highly amusing if the public were not paying hundreds of thousands of dollars for the play, to see the low valuation corporations place upon their property for taxation and the higher valuation put by them on the same property to prevent regulation of rates. There is a railroad which runs through Virginia and North Carolina. When Virginia was

seeking to compel that company to charge lower rates, their high officials filed affidavits that the road was worth \$40,000 to \$50,000 per mile, and entitled to earn interest on that sum. In North Carolina when the same road was assessed a little over \$12,000 per mile for taxation, its officers got an injunction from a federal judge (as above stated) on the ground that this was more than its value. Reference is made to the railroads in this connection because they are the greatest of all Trusts, the Transportation Trust, the control of which has now been reduced to a half a dozen men practically. But space is lacking to go through the long catalogue of injustices which the masses suffer at the hands of great aggregations of wealth.

The methods by which they maintain their supremacy over the law is as long. I can only refer to those most prominent and best known.

Some years ago the Trusts thought of strengthening their hold by educating young men into their views. This was advocated in a memorable speech before the American Bankers' Association. Vast donations were soon thereafter given to found sundry universities and colleges and to obtain control of others. The experiment has not been a startling success for the graduates in most instances have been soon educated out of their artificial ideas by contact with the public and their native good sense.

The next attempt has been, recognizing the supreme power of public opinion, to pervert it by control of the press. The trusts and great corporations have acquired most of the great dailies and latterly the country newspapers and the religious press have not been entirely passed over. But this shrewd American people have been quick to discern which editors are "led captains," and but recently the anti-trust candidate was elected mayor in one of our greatest cities with every newspaper but one against him, and in two other great cities the anti-trust candidate was chosen with every paper without exception retained against him. The vast body of the Press have stood by the cause of the people—to their eternal honor be it said—notwithstanding the bitter competition of their subsi-

dized opponents. The effect has been not to mislead the people but the Trusts, who, deceived by the tootings of their own horns, are ignorant of popular determination and purposes.

Another well-known method of lawless wealth is to procure wherever they can the nomination to office by each political party of those subservient to the views of the money power. This is cheaper and safer than backing either party, and then whichever side triumphs the Trusts have friends in office. Their greatest stronghold of course is in these men in office who owe their positions to the powerful influence of organized wealth, or whose servility has been secured, and in the powerful lobby which they maintain at Washington and every State Capital.

Their control of a large part of the press, with which they maintain touch through a Press Bureau, has not amounted to much, for abuse from that source has become a certificate of integrity to a public man with the masses. But their influence through their lobby and the selection of those in office—especially powerful where the office is appointive—has been very great.

One trust, and one only, I believe—the Bagging Trust—has been destroyed and that was done by the farmers themselves who resorted to a boycott, the same weapon our ancestor used against British tea and the stamp act. Our North Carolina people are resorting just now to the same resource, a boycott, against the American Tobacco Company, which has brought greater financial losses upon them than war, famine, and pestilence. It is too soon to predict what their success will be, but much can be expected from so patriotic and determined a people.

Then, too, when the binding twine trust oppressed the people of Kansas, they obtained protection by the Governor changing the Penitentiary temporarily into a binding twine factory. And the State of Texas, having also a Governor in sympathy with the masses, once put in force her statutes which ran some of the Trusts, among them the Standard Oil Trust, out of that State. But in view of the public opposition to Trusts and the

numerous and fierce statutes against them, marvellously little has been done to shake their control.

Since secret influences have prevented, so far, the execution of any criminal statutes against the Trusts, we may well ask what remedies can be resorted to in this country where the people should be the government and can be everything if they will it. Even constitutions are their handiwork and can be abrogated or changed at their sovereign pleasure.

From Aristotle down it has been conceded that great inequalities of wealth are dangerous, especially in Republics. Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court in his address to the American Bar Association (Am. Bar Asso., 1893, p. 241) struck at the motive underlying these vast accumulations by advocating a modification of the Statute of Wills, so that no one could devise to one of his children or any other person more than a fixed sum provided by law—he suggested one million of dollars. He pointed out that on the continent of Europe, certainly wherever the principles of the Code Napoleon obtain, no one can dispose by will of more than a small part of his estate. While everyone has a natural right to his own earnings, he has, as Mr. Blackstone says, no right to direct the disposition of the property he shall leave on this planet after he goes hence, and each country settles the devolution of property by its own statute of Wills, of Descent, and Distributions. These statutes can be modified or repealed at will in each State. Indeed, it is only comparatively recently (27 and 32 Henry VIII) that Englishmen have been empowered by statute to dispose of land by will at all. If by such statutes, only a fixed sum, as suggested by Justice Brown, shall be made disposable by will, or permitted to go to the heirs at law and next of kin, with provisions against the evading of the statute by large gifts during life, and directing that all the surplus shall go into the State Treasury in reduction of taxation, the evil of vast accumulations would cease. In England, the evil is already largely met by a heavy and progressive income and inheritance tax from which that country derives one-third of its

annual revenue. In some cases these combined taxes in England, Australia, and some other countries amount to 20 per cent. of very large estates while sparing small ones altogether. No tax could be more greatly to the public benefit or be more easily borne, or collected with less expense. It is competent for any state to shape its statutes on this subject at will. There would be smaller inducement to oppress the public, if the bulk of the accumulations derived therefrom beyond a fixed sum must go to that public at the death of the accumulator to lighten taxation.

As to the Trusts themselves, different remedies are applicable. The gigantic Steel Trust could doubtless be suppressed, or made harmless through competition, by repeal of the tariff on the articles it uses and sells, and by taking away the transportation favors by which it has thriven. The destruction of transportation discriminations and just taxation of its property with a progressive income tax would abate the vast Oil Trust. Indeed the modification of the tariff in the particulars by which any specified Trust thrives, added to a fair property taxation, a progressive income tax and an effective prohibition of railroad favors to one shipper over another would destroy probably nine-tenths of the Trusts.

*By a federal tax of ten per cent. upon State Banks of Issue—a perfectly legitimate business—they were totally destroyed. Certainly the same means can be used to destroy the Trusts, which are illegal.* A small franchise tax could be levied on smaller corporations, increasing in per cent. according to increase in the size of the corporations—in short, a progressive or graduated franchise tax. This can be made so heavy as to make watering stock unprofitable, and by the same means destroy or prevent those large aggregations which are detrimental to the public welfare. There will be peculiar justice in applying to their destruction the taxing power which (in the shape of tariffs) has contributed so greatly to their growth. Where the Trusts, like the Standard Oil, the Tobacco Trust, and some others have also grown by reducing prices to destroy competition, a pawl and ratchet” statute forbidding them to put



back the selling price whenever a jury shall find that the reduction was made to destroy competition would be effective to prevent such oppression.

As to the Whiskey Trust, it may be well doubted if any better remedy, or indeed, any better regulation of the sale of liquor, can be found than the Dispensary. It originated in Sweden, which was then the most drunken country in Europe. It was a success there, reducing drunkenness and crimes resulting therefrom to a minimum, besides bringing in a large revenue to reduce taxation. It was adopted then, with like results, in Norway, in Switzerland, and elsewhere, and finally in South Carolina. It has been adopted, to public satisfaction, in many parts of North Carolina.

If the pending boycott of the Tobacco Trust fails and the progressive income tax, heavier on large than on small receipts, also fails, we can remember that the Tobacco Trust could not enter France, Austria or Italy because in those countries all tobacco is sold by the Government. Our former system of free manufacture and sale by everyone is preferable, of course, but if the Tobacco Trust will reduce all manufacture and sale to be possible only by one party it is better that this one party should be the government rather than the Tobacco Trust. The government would restore fair prices to the farmer, based upon the size of the crop, reserving to the government, as in France and other countries, only a fair profit for revenue, and even that profit will go to reduce the weight of taxation and not to swell the estates of a few multi-millionaires, as now. Tobacco and whiskey are already differentiated from other products by both being already under government supervision and subject to the Internal Revenue system. This would be but a modification of the method of collecting revenue from them.

But there are some Trusts which from the very nature of the business they pursue are necessarily monopolies. These should be taken over and operated by the government only, and in the interest of all. Such are lighting, water and street transportation which an increasing number of municipalities

own and operate as Trustees of the public. Of the same nature are railroads, which were originally built, owned, and operated by the State in North Carolina and many other States. The consolidation of railroads till now the entire system throughout the Union is practically controlled by half a dozen men demonstrates both that the government can operate them and that it can not safely trust such vast power to a few hands.

This country has been slow to desire government ownership even to the extent of taking over the Trunk lines, though government ownership of railroads prevails in all other great countries save England. Our people preferred government control of railroads and decreed it by enacting an Inter-State Commerce Commission and in many States, Railroad Commissions. After many years trial, government control of railroads has been a failure. Every attempt to tax them fairly, to regulate their rates, and to require safeguards for employees or the public, or to assert any legal control whatever by the law has been resisted, and often successfully. The railroads have gone into politics and have their representatives in each of the great departments of government. We are much nearer railroad control of government than government control of railroads. By their discriminations and favors they are, together with the tariff, the two foundations upon which other trusts repose.

The telegraph, too, originally belonged to our Post Office department, as both telegraph and telephone do in all other great countries, England included. In them you can send a telegram from any point to any other for ten or twelve cents, and in some countries the government charges six or nine dollars per annum for the use of the telephone. In this country the telegraph rates are such that though, as Congressional investigation showed, the stockholders of the Western Union have never paid in but \$545,000 in cash that company is capitalized at \$120,000,000, besides having paid dividends all these years. There is no reason why our people should have paid the enormous sums accumulated by the telegraph and telephone companies when the government could have saved the public these sums by operating them as a part of the Post Office,

as all other civilized countries have done. Then, in all other countries but ours, the Post Office operates a parcels post, delivering packages up to eleven pounds in weight, even by rural mail delivery, for six cents up. The express company monopoly has defeated all propositions of the kind here. We know from official reports that the railroads charge the government for annual rental of postal cars more than the total cost of building the cars, and that they charge for freight on mail in addition eight times what they charge the express companies for hauling the same weights. Four Presidents and several postmaster generals have recommended the return of the telegraph to the Post Office and the adoption of European Parcels Post and Postal Savings Banks, but in vain. In short, we have the most antiquated postal system among civilized States. Even the Free Rural Delivery, now so popular, was only adopted many years after it had been in successful operation in European countries and only then after the Express companies had been conciliated by striking out the Parcels Post feature. The *Review of Reviews* for August said that our postal system, which ought to be the best in the world, is falling behind that of almost all civilized countries \* \* \* because private interests which absorb half the postal revenues are much more influential at Washington than is the public demand for a better service on a better basis." The sole remedy is government operation through the Post Office of telegraph, telephone, and parcels post, and ownership of its own postal cars.

The postal scandal, which of late has attracted so much public attention, did not take from the public altogether as much as the public loses in *any one hour* by the excess in trust charges in operating these functions over and above what the charges would be if operated by our Post Office, as in other countries.

The newspaper trust levies annually two and a half million dollars on the press by excessive prices for blank paper. Were that amount levied by the government to lighten other taxation indignation would know no bounds. It is paid to trust magnates and not a whimper is heard. Are we the same people

who resisted a stamp tax on paper because not levied by our consent?

We are told that the people are opposed to government ownership. They would be if the former state of things could be restored, but the Trusts and great corporations have demonstrated that this cannot be done. The only resource is in matters of monopoly to replace the Trust which is exploiting the public to make millionaires by a bigger trust, the government, of which the people will be the beneficiaries and not the victims and in which every citizen will be a stockholder. When the Coal Trust shut down Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan said he had no power to intervene, but when schools began to close for want of coal an ominous growl went up. A democratic State Convention met and a democratic candidate for President introduced a resolution for government ownership of coal mines. It passed like a clap of thunder. The Trust magnate promptly found he had power with the coal barons. He hastened to Washington. The President found he had power, without any statute, to appoint a Board of Arbitration, and the chief demands of labor were granted. Government ownership of those things which are essentially monopolies is probably closer at hand than we think.

The people are yet all powerful. When aroused, relief from trusts will be demanded, and what the American people demand there is no power beneath the skies to refuse them. Bayonets and injunctions can move only by their permission and in enforcement of their will.

Justice Brown, in *Scott v. Donald*, 165 U. S., at p. 106, spoke of the "dangerous inflexibility of the United States Constitution." It is one hundred and twenty-five years old, and ill suited in some respects to the needs of to-day. The people have long since changed its President, elected at third hand by electors chosen by State legislatures, into a President elected by themselves. They will also beyond question change a plutocratic Senate and a life tenure Judiciary into officials chosen by themselves and representing their will. The people are not the creatures of the Constitution but the Constitution is the

creature of their hands. They have changed it and will change it again at their sovereign will.

It was not by accident that the generation of 1776 gave to the world George Washington and Thomas Jefferson—two of the world's greatest men. A great man is but the highest expression of the will and intelligence of the people among whom he lives. If our ancestors had not thought and felt as Washington and Jefferson thought and felt they would not have been put forward and ready at the critical moment to lead the greatest movement of the ages.

Jesus Christ came from a people by whom, and at a time when, he was not understood or appreciated. This is one of the strongest proofs of his divinity, for in all history no other great prophet or leader has, like him, come forth out of any Nazareth, but has always been the condensed and highest expression of his day and generation.

This people and this time are seeking true men and great leaders to express their views. The breed of noble men is not yet exhausted in our country. We yet look with hope to the salvation of our Israel.

Would that some power could roll back the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre and call forth the spirit of the mighty dead whose mortal remains sleep on Vernon's slope. Would that the angel of the resurrection could summon from Monticello's side the people's friend who led our nation's untried feet along the paths of popular government. Among the valleys and mountains, in the land they loved so well and served so faithfully, surely something of the spirit that once was theirs loves still to dwell.

WALTER CLARK.

*Raleigh, N. C.*



## EMERSON, THE MAN.

IT is well that our nation should pause amid its tasks of speculation and politics to ponder the significance of the life opening on our world a hundred years ago.

Ralph Waldo Emerson had no predecessor in American literature. Nor, alas! did he leave any lineal heir in the spirit. Nature is niggardly of such as he. One in a century will suffice for a nation, whose best business thereafter will be to garner his fruit and seed down from it a richer growth throughout its varied fields. He arose above our horizon as the light of a new day upon our shores.

So palpably an original, he has compelled the study of all generous seekers of truth among his successors. He dignified our shabby democracy by the entrance he forced into the court circles of literature.

Poet and philosopher—rather let me say poet-philosopher—his place is secure among the immortals. No companion of the average man of the street, whose principal reading is of the tape from the "ticker," but "the friend of those who would walk in the spirit," his influence is deep in proportion to the narrow channels through which it runs. He so steeped himself in our national springs of thought and life that, wherever our mental and spiritual forces flow fresh and full to-day, his presence may be felt like a fine flavor, a tonic quality as of the roots of his New England pines.

One cannot but feel an ennobling sense of pride in the thought of such a response to the impatient demand of the old world upon our new land—"Give us something thoroughly American in the sphere of mind, something fresh and free, something original and big! Show melons and prize cattle tell us what your soil can bring forth; but where is that virgin vigor transmuted into mind? Where are your California Sequoias; your Lake Superior, your Mississippi River, your Niagara Falls in the realm of intellect?"

Our dear and venerable mother-land seems to have grown a little daft of late in this feverish expectation of something astonishing from her big boy across the sea, and has gone into raptures over one at least whom few of us acknowledge as the long-awaited original genius of America. The true original American is—Emerson. A force breezy as the gales of New England, but clean and wholesome and full of ozone as the winds from her White Hills and Green Mountains. A mind as large as our big trees and giant rivers, but stately as our Hudson, calm and chaste as our Lake George.

The native qualities of the soil, the crispness of its apples and the juiciness of its peaches, are in him whose apology is:

"One harvest from thy field  
Homeward brought thine oxen strong;  
A second crop thine acres yield,  
Which I gather in a song."

Emerson types America's second crop. Its golden wheat fields and daisy meadows, where the rhodora blooms and the "burly, dozing bumble bee" drones, fruiting into rich, ripe thought; the vigor of a new world fructifying the culture of the old world into a racy type of mind, and a virile form of manhood—such is the American genius as signed to us in Emerson. As I sat in his study shortly before his death, I thought I read the riddle of the writer in the man. There before me was the New England farmer idealized; the strong, straight form, the rugged lines of face which generations of hard and thrifty life had carved in the flesh, lighted up from the imagination which always lay within the prosaic Puritan, sunned in the serenity of the spirit enshrined within that doming brow, the soul of a God-conscious race.

## I.

Emerson was more than a famous writer—he was a teacher of the loftiest life. He was, as needs must be every really great life-inspirer, an incarnation of his message to the spirit. As Carlyle was only imperfectly, Emerson was, with scarce a

flaw, a man worthy of the author. His was a life as finely beautiful, as loftily noble as his writings. The innermost force of his spirit lay in a character. If I am not too far grown out of youth to read aright its secrets, he is the best mentor of young men whom our country has produced—typing in word and deed the manhood for a new world's aspiration.

Genius is apt to impoverish conscience. When the blood flows to the head, the feet do not always walk straight. It is needful to throw the mantle of charity over the private lives of many whose public services we gratefully own. We are thus tempted to think that genius dispenses with conscience, that superior minds are given the freedom of the earth, and thus to dis sever in our ideals the professional from the personal life. The genius which feeds the mind of youth too often poisons its heart. Not so was it with our poet-philosopher. His life bears the closest scrutiny. It was a better sermon than any he ever preached. Mr. Higginson might well say, "Beyond almost all literary men on record his life has been worthy of his words." There is no ugly chasm between the Ralph Waldo Emerson of literature and the Mr. Emerson of Lexington Road, Concord.

His face was the revelation of a lofty and gentle soul. He was sincere, like the strained honey of his hives, transparently genuine, as sensitive to the Polar currents of ethical forces as the magnet to the positives of electricity, scrupulously just, unflinchingly brave, strong as one of the old demi-gods; and, withal, gentle as a true woman, and as pure, full of all kindness and courtesy, mellow in sweetness and light as an August peach with the sunshine turned to nectar; the gracious smile upon his face betokening the rippling laughter of the spirit, as of "the eternal child" within him. His was that most exigent of ideals embodied—"A life unspotted from the world."

No higher tribute could be paid to him than the silence of calumny, when it must have longed to bark at his heels. A rare goodness, surely, which through the thick of the heated theological controversies that he kept stirring up continually, laid its spell on those whose fences and hedges he left broken

and ruinous behind him, while he strode serenely on after the stars. Whatever sectarian bitterness has had to say against the teacher, it has, so far as I know, dared lift no snarl against the man. He must be worthy of canonization who, being an arch heresiarch, is owned a saint by orthodoxy. Quaint old Father Taylor said of him, "I have laid my ear close to his heart, and never detected any jar in the machinery. He is more like Jesus than anybody I have ever known."

Though he sat not on your benches or on mine, he had none the less been at school under the "highest, holiest manhood."

This excellence of character is the supreme glory of Emerson, as of every truly great man. Theodore Parker dedicated his famous Ten Sermons on Religion to him, "with admiration for his genius and with kindly affection for what in him is far nobler than genius."

Yes, goodness is greater than genius, virtue has more solar force than talent, a soul weighs heavier than brains, the carving of a noble manhood is a finer art than any which the poet or the painter pursues. Conduct is verily "three-fourths of life."

Felix Adler once said to me, as we stood disappointed in a common work of social service: "Let us not forget that a life is better than any work." The truth, which Plato was perhaps the first in the western world to declare, that life is an education, remains still our Ariadne's thread amid the cavernous bewilderments through which we stumble. The graduation of a spirit learned in the lore of conscience, trained and exercised in the moral thews, concludes the epoch of an earth. The building of a man, and not the making of a doctor or a lawyer, a merchant or a priest, is success in life. As Emerson himself wrote: "A cultivated man, wise to know and bold to perform, is the end to which nature works. The education of the will is the flowering and result of all this geology and astronomy."

## II.

If Emerson shows us this, he shows us also how such manhood is to be won. We can study him in the making, the statue

in the workshop growing into heroic form, as well as admire the great man upon his pedestal in humanity's Pantheon.

All plants with which I am acquainted, saving orchids and their kind, have rootings below the surface before they shoot up in gracefulness of leaf and flower and fruit. Emerson was an elect soul. Nature had foreordained him to his high honor of manhood. His spiritual growth began before his birth. He struck the roots of his character through eight generations of cultivated, devout ministers. He was the flower of those earnest generations. Is it not so always, even though we fail to trace the growth behind the hero and the saint? Generations travail, that spiritual men may rejoice in the free motions of a higher nature. The blood must be charged with virtuousness and its living organisms be endowed with the promise and potency of spirituality, before a man shall lead the sacred form of duty into the royal hall of the soul and the will shall crown it king.

Emerson had a real mother, such an one as St. Augustine praised: "Who brought me forth, both in the flesh, that I might be born to this temporal light, and in heart, that I might be born to light eternal." He declared her influence upon his education to have been as great as that of Greece and Rome. An old story this, as old as faithful men and pure women upon the earth. In the homes where a son of God is grown, a holy mother walks.

A happy home proved itself in Emerson, as it has done in the race at large, the church of childhood; on whose altars love is lighted and cherished into pure, bright flame.

How he loved the "brother of the brief but blazing star" we discern from his poem on "E. E." The heart passes from the concrete to the abstract, from individuals to classes and races, to humanity. The Family is the State in miniature; and there are practised the sentiments which make the citizens, the patriot, the philanthropist. Well for him who enters life fortified by memories of a home whose Lares and Penates were love and peace, by whose hearthstone all affections clustered. Its walls may thus loom large and sacred, as in after years rose the walls

of the carpenter's cottage in Nazareth; turning on the far horizon into the mystic lines of the "Father's house" where there are "many mansions."

If Providence did thus much, and more of which I cannot speak, the coöperant will of Emerson did its full share. He rose upon a strong foundation, but he builded strongly. From early childhood his thoughtful mind was bent upon the higher goods of life. "The spiritual looking boy in blue nankeens" was in dead earnest from the start to fashion himself into noble form. He enjoyed the advantages of a real education, and he wasted none of them wherein he divined that there was aught for him. As early as eleven he was trying his hand at verses and translations from Latin and Greek. At fourteen he entered Harvard. He was then, as he always continued, a great reader, fond, even thus early, of the old English poets. The strong moral earnestness of his nature was indicated while in college, by his choice of a topic for a junior essay—"The character of Socrates;" and by the topic for his senior essay—"The present state of ethical philosophy."

Not his the sowing of wild oats which is popularly supposed to prepare the soil for the best grain. When he turned over the sod, he sowed what he wanted to reap. No wasted years, no energies wantoning in evil when they needed to be capitalizing mid-life and old age, no coquetting or dalliance with Folly while Wisdom cried in the streets; but an early seeking of the heavenly Wisdom who is thus surely to be found, and a loyal offering of his virgin nature to the bride divine.

Emerson's choice of the ministry was the carrying out of this unspoken consecration. The pulpit was then the one pre-eminent sphere to which a man of his fine enthusiasms would naturally turn. He sought it as the highest work he saw. He did not remain long in it, yet he never really left it. He gave not up the service of God in giving up the ministry. He carried his ordination into other tasks.

Emerson's early abandonment of the ministry was from the same high earnestness which had drawn him into it. The influence of the mystics, of whom he was always fond, led him



to spiritualize away the institution of the Lord's supper, until the outward observance became unnecessary to him. He could not officiate in a rite evacuated of significance, nor act the mummer's part. He must needs be thoroughly real in all things. On the intimation of his difficulty his congregation, rather than lose him, wished him to place his own construction on the ceremony, and leave them to their interpretations; but even the appearance of dissimulation was abhorrent to him. There were doubtless other and subtler difficulties working below his consciousness. In truth, he was not where he could do his best work. He was too individualistic for any organization. He could only strike his best gait in single harness. He gave up his pastorate, and gradually withdrew from all official ministerial work.

The step could have been no light one. Eight generations of ministerial blood in his veins must have made such an action seem to his sensitive conscience almost disloyalty to God. He was a young man of twenty-nine, with his career before him. In the ministry, that career was already sure of a brilliant success. He was popular, with a growing following. If he turned aside from this congenial sphere, what pathway opened before him? Wherever he turned, he must himself open that new career. Would he succeed? An easy answer for us now, but not, perhaps, so easy for him then, when he was not *Emerson*, the poet-philosopher of world-wide fame, but only the Rev. R. W. Emerson, a young clergyman of fine promise. Yet, rather than trifle with his conscience, this young man laid down his high career, with the sweets of popularity scarce tasted; leaving the cultivated society of Boston and retiring to the quiet country town and the old house at the end of the Lexington road, to open his books, take up his pen and carve a new career.

Whatever we think of the views which led him to this step, the step itself was one which only a brave, strong soul could take, a real heroism in our nineteenth century. It was an act of spiritual renunciation of the world, none the less because the world stood for him, where it stands to so many, in the church.

An action, this, quite equal to Carlyle's courageous abandonment of the London world to go into retreat at Craigenputtock; but unaccompanied with any cackling over it at the time or in after years. Like that, it rebukes the feverish love of excitement, the morbid hunger for popularity, the itching eagerness to keep before the people which emasculates much public life, and in some way "doth make cowards of us all."

A character to Emerson was even then more than a career; a true life a more valuable asset in the taking of stock than a splendid reputation; "a conscience void of offense towards God and man," a something beyond the most brilliant success; the building of a man, and not the making of a clergyman, the aim of his life. He might have whispered to himself his own later word:

"For he that feeds men serveth few:  
He serves all who dares be true."

What a shaming light such a magnificent appreciation of manhood turns upon the careers wherein, to the blindest eyes, the man has been sacrificed to the successful preacher or merchant or lawyer or college president! What a beacon for youth to steer by, as it sails forth on life's voyage; wherein the course laid down on the chart may depart so widely from that revealed to him whose eyes are on the stars!

This strengthful courage he showed in every crisis of his life. He had more than once to face a mob in uttering his convictions, but he uttered them as calmly as though no peril confronted him. Neither interest nor fear could seduce him from duty. He was one of our first independents. To no sect or school or party would he swear away his freedom, save as it commanded his reason or his conscience. Most men are uncomfortable when not in a crowd, unhappy in a minority. Alike in Church and State, the crying need is for independents—men superior to sectarianism and partizanship.

This superb strengthfulness was the inner core of his high character. It looks out from every line of the head which, in French's truthful bust, faces me as I write, like that of one of the immortals. There can be no noble character without

strengthfulness—a calm, firm, resolute will. High ideals, generous aspirations, may allure the soul upwards towards the sun-crowned crests of being, but he must be strong-sinewed, with the thews and muscles of an iron will, who would climb those dizzy steeps of "Life's supremest heights." A lump of human putty will never shape itself into a hero or a saint. A true man is fashioned only by *force*, though not a force treated of in physics or in chemistries. "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Goodness is virile. There is a deadly sin not down in the catalogue of the priests—weakness. This kills more men than the meanest vices or the rankest crimes. To one who fails through really turning away from the heavenly wisdom with "I would not," a thousand fail by letting "I dare not wait upon I would." St. Paul rightly sums all counsels of virtue into one word—"Be strong."

Emerson's strength, let me note in passing, denies the notion that commonly links sombreness with strengthfulness, grimness with goodness, so that men think of holiness as being harsh and hard. His strengthfulness mantled itself in the colors of a warm and sunny goodness. His will was that of the Puritan, his sympathies were those of the Greek. This austere saint and sage was the healthy, happy child of Nature. His fathers might have been like their own White Hills, strong as stone and as severe and sombre. He was like their Green Mountains, wherein New England softens toward a milder clime, and clothes her savage hills with tender grasses, lovely flowers, and the rich, dark hue of the pines, whose song was in his soul. Over his masterful face played the soft, sweet smile so characteristic of him; in which all gentlest, kindest, happiest feelings seemed ever caressing life. The secret of that smile was read by Spencer on the face of Hope, who "always smiled."

He inspired love even more than admiration. To stand in his presence was to receive an unspoken benediction.

He was as full of stored light and warmth as a chunk of cannel coal, and, like it, needed only a touch to irradiate those around him with his "vital forces of delight." That which he

wrote in the introductory article of the "Dial," in 1840, describes his own life: "We wish that it may resemble that instrument in its celebrated happiness, that of measuring no hours but those of sunshine." There were shadows in his life, deep and dark; but, to him who faced the light within so resolutely, no clouds could long shut out the sunshine. To read him is to feel the warm, rich light playing about life; is to have the sense of eternal Spring waken within the soul. He was "sober on a fund of joy."

Joyousness is the natural issue of strong vitality. There is a spiritual health as well as a physical health. In each case, its secret is obedience to the laws stamped on the nature, whether of body or of soul. He who habitually does the *right*, finds the *pleasant* all men crave. Wisdom's ways are "ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." Happiness waits in the train of duty. Nay, when august Duty, so stern to him who shrinks back, reluctant to tread her arduous path, turns her face upon the soul loyally following her, it is the face of Joy!

"Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear  
The Godhead's most benignant grace;  
Nor know we anything so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face.  
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,  
And fragrance in thy footing treads."

### III.

This strengthful laying out of a life for the building up of a man showed itself in all the plans and methods of the new career into which he turned.

He chose his home in his ancestral village, not alone, I am sure, from natural sentiment, but from the instinct, of which there are not lacking signs, that there the best surroundings were to be had for his character and thus for his work. Through well nigh fifty years he lived amid the potent influences of the community in which successive generations of his ancestors had linked the name he bore with the traditions of the town. How should he dare to act unworthily of the noble

men and women who had walked those streets before him? How should he do an act which should cause his neighbors to turn their heads as he passed by, sighing to think that his venerable forbears, through the generations up to old Peter Bulkeley, "The Great Pray," as the Indians called him, who founded the town in 1635, were shamed in their descendant? Alas! for those of us who, torn from our ancestral rootings, in this restless age, are blown to strange scenes, live amid no hallowing associations, guarded by no restraining memories, the children of nobody in a city of everybody!

The suction of the great centers resistlessly draws young men and women who have their lives to make within these fateful maelstroms, where each one is only a drop jostling other drops. Whatever these drawings, may I, under the shadow of this strong example, counsel any young men and maidens who hear me to hold out against them while they can. Try your chances in a smaller place. Those chances, even for a career, are really better almost anywhere than in our great centers, if you have to go there as strangers. What force is in you will tell in the start better in a small town than in a huge city, and when it has told it will be time to go east.

For the building of a man, the city's promise is illusive. The *Spectator* rightly pointed out, some time since, as suggested by the story of Darwin and Emerson, that the best work in most lines of study is being done away from the leading cities. Stimulus is found therein to abundance, but not such as furthers solid growth of mental tissue; while its distractions dissipate the mind. A life in a metropolis dispels much of the glamour around its successful men. The century's best growth is going on outside these overgrown barracks, where life is no longer natural and healthy. Talent is democratic. It believes in decentralization.

Emerson's home life in Concord had another feature not seemingly of great importance, which yet counted in the building of his manhood—its simplicity. In this age of æsthetics, we are at a loss when we find culture unsurrounded with bric-a-brac, and goodness unfed by daily sight of dadoes. We hang

our walls with rich stuffs, pile up our tables with uglinesses which it is the fashion to call beautiful, turn our rooms into museums of curiosities, and fancy ourselves the happy owners of so much "culture." We think to refine ourselves by rich surroundings, and succeed in weighing down our souls with the cares of this life, which choke the good seed within us, if we do not sink into effeminacy and corruption.

Luxury has always eaten out the finer, stronger qualities of a people, while seeming to dignify and enrich life. This is the story of every great civilization of the past. When the home turns into a palace, there soon follows that which Taine describes in decadent Venice: "A palace is a museum, a family memorial, a resting place for the night—in truth there is no longer any family life."

This is one, at least, of the real meanings of the New Testament cautions against "worldliness." "Plain living and high thinking" is not an irrelevant conjunction. The square white house of Emerson, with its simply furnished rooms, rises like a symbol of that "plain living" which he instinctively felt to be linked with his "high thinking." He was content for fifty years with this simplicity, with the quiet pleasures which his family, his neighbors, his garden, and his roadside walks yielded; while we smaller creatures rush across the sea to find in Europe the zest which has evaporated from America.

He enshrined his oracle within the divine domesticities—"a pure religion breathing household laws." He met Ægeria in the orchard or the meadow or by the shore of Walden Pond. Carlyle, ambling along on the good cob which his own hands had groomed; Wordsworth, leaving London for a cottage among the Westmoreland lakes, by whose shores he rambled, looking like a kindly farmer; Darwin, hunting slugs along the Sussex lanes, nodding, as he strolled, in a neighborly way, to peasants and to children; Emerson walking in his fields singing:

"If I could put my words in song  
And tell what's there enjoyed,  
All men would to my gardens throng,  
And leave the cities void:"



Have these lives no voices to us concerning the secret of high and noble life which is forever sacred in the story of a Jewish carpenter's son?

Emerson's life in nature was one of the springs of his sunny strength. He was true to his best instincts in shunning the city. His praises of nature were no tricks of the trade of letters. He loved the fields and the woods. The description of "The Solitary" in "Wood Notes," while meant, perhaps, for Thoreau, is an unconscious portraiture of himself. He had by faithful friendship ingratiated himself with Mother Nature, until she opened her lips, mute to most of us, let him into her secrets, and he heard the whisperings of the pine trees and caught the musings of Monadnock. He fed his soul from the subtle influences of health which streamed in upon him from this mysterious life around us.

"Pure, vigorous nature," sighed the dying Froebel, as he had his arm chair drawn up to an open window, that the light of the setting sun might lie upon him and the warm, sweet air might fan his cheeks. Nature was to Emerson, as to Froebel, purity and vigor. He uses words advisedly when he speaks of "virtuous May;" when he writes—

"None can tell how sweet,  
How virtuous the morning air."

He had learned that—

"Whoso walketh in solitude  
And inhalet the wood,  
Choosing light, wave, rock and bird  
Before the money-loving herd,  
Into that forester shall pass,  
From these companions, power and grace;  
Clean shall he be without, within,  
From the old adhering sin.  
Him Nature giveth for defense  
Her formidable innocence."

In "God's First Temple" he drew the inspirations which lifted him above the common temptations, and breathed him out large-statured, with ennobling aspirations. This was because to him, as he tells us, "Nature is the incarnation of a thought, and turns to a thought again, as ice becomes water

and gas. The world is mind precipitated, and the volatile essence is forever escaping again into the state of free thought. Hence, the virtue and pungency of the influence on the mind of natural objects." This was no mere idiosyncrasy of Emerson.

Wordsworth reads us the same lesson in his quiet home by Grassmere, where he found that nature—

"Can inform  
The mind that is within us, can impress  
With quietness and beauty, and so feed  
With lofty thoughts."

It was a leaf from his own lessons in the culture of character which he gives, in saying:

"One impulse from a vernal wood  
May teach you more of man,  
Of moral evil and of good  
Than all the sages can."

Nor is this experience the monopoly of genius. It is the privilege of every thoughtful man and woman, who is content to do without the garish glitter of the great world's pomps, until he has grown to love the milder joys of simple life, where the skies are hung with paintings from the oldest of masters, and in the grove at morn and eve the birds sing freely his daily opera. The normal habitat of man is the country, or the towns such as the immortal cities of Greece or Italy, where the vistas down the streets had a background of green hills or white-browed mountains.

In the profound myth of the Hebrews, the Lord God took the man and put him into the Garden of Eden, "To dress it and keep it." The devil would have planted a city of several million, and have put him there, where exhales the worst of miasmas, and where physical filth engenders moral corruption.

There is always a something abnormal in a life dissevered from the Eden surroundings. It misses more than it suspects. Is not this the meaning of the story of Jesus? God sent the beloved son not to Jerusalem, but to Nazareth. Would he have grown to be "the highest, holiest manhood" if his life had been always exposed to the feverish heat of those last months in

the capital? Thirty years amid the hills of Galilee went to the building of that Man Divine.

#### IV.

But from these outer surroundings let us turn for a moment to that which must always lie within circumstance, if high character is to be won. Environment can but help a man to make himself. Circumstance—the things standing round one—will crystallize into character only upon a core of conscience. What could his sweet simplicities, his divine domesticities, his home in nature have done for Emerson if he had been full of inward unrest, of vacillating ideals, of weak disloyalties to the power throned within?

The masterful purpose which shaped his plans in youth towards the building of a man, held firm through life, and moulded every circumstance on that insistent plan. His goodness was not as the morning dew—his enthusiasms evaporated not with youth. The fires of his soul were never banked. He was true at eve to the voice heard in youth. He could sing in age with Schiller: "Dreams of my youth; I love you still." As he began, he continued to the end, shaping his being after the pattern shown him on the Mount. From childhood up to his beautiful old age, his path was the even course of the ascendant sun. He did not realize his ideals, doubtless, or they would have ceased to be ideals; but he was ever loyal to them. He never overtook those mystic "forerunners" that had caught his eyes and beckoned him after them, but he followed them unhalting through his more than three score years and ten. The roots of his strong, serene life ran back and down into The Indwelling Life. The laws of life which he had learned at his mother's knee, which he had heard whispered by his good foster-mother Nature, he shrined within his soul, like the law of Moses lying in the sacred ark of the Hebrews; and daily he retired within the holy place to hearken to the oracle. To him belonged that great word of George Eliot—"The deepest hunger of the heart is faithfulness."

As I think of him, he seems to stand like Socrates, with his eye turned upwards to The Laws—the rulers of heaven above as of earth beneath; his ear turned forward to catch their lightest whisper. “Over all belief” to him was “faithfulness.” His crest bore the motto, not of the successful clergyman or statesman or other professional bit of a man, “policy,” but of the successful *man*—“principle.” Policy might have moved him along a little—principle floated him up into the empyrean. He linked himself with the eternal forces. He obeyed the counsel of that most characteristic of his sayings—“hitch your wagon to a star.” He never ran his wagon by any feeblar motor. Thus he swung into the orbits of the skies. In the voyage of life he trusted himself fearlessly to the gulf stream of tendency which sets forever towards the *right*; and, as he floated beyond our vision, his voice came chanting back to us the solemn song—“He that doeth the will of God abideth forever.”

For these eternal forces on which he threw himself were to him none other than forms of the one infinite and eternal energy, the will of God. And thus we touch the deepest spring of that lofty rectitude, that stainless honor, that innocence as of a child within the genius—the source of all noblest character.

True, his thought of God may not have been your thought or my thought. The consciousness of God is not limited by any thought about him. Our thoughts are but the shadows which the ineffable presence casts upon the mind, conditioned by the mirroring surface; always an imperfect transcript of the august reality. Let us not insist on thrusting our tin-type plates into the ivory-type camera.

True, his thought of God seems often vague; but I am not aware that the lenses have been fashioned which resolve satisfactorily the nebula which attests the reality of a central source of light while it mocks our straining vision. “Who can by searching find out God?” The reality of infinite power and wisdom and goodness, before which all right minded men bow in humblest awe, may seem to us at one time a power above nature, and at another a power within nature; now a power

personal, and again a power transcending our poor thought of personality. This is the necessary mystery of the infinite. The poet and the philosopher may have many things to say of God which fit not in our little schemes. Upon the whole, let the dwarfs give up measuring the giants with their Liliputian tapes, and leave such tasks to the angel with the golden metewand.

The man Emerson fed his soul from the *reality known*, though known to be beyond all knowledge; felt, though not defined; the presence intuitively recognized by reason and immediately communioned with, while the lame footed understanding is limping up in search of God. He was one of those whom he describes in *The Dial*: "Who live by a faith too earnest and profound to suffer them to doubt the eternity of its object, or to shake themselves free from its authority."

Mr. Alcott tells us of a visit which he paid Emerson in 1866, when he found him "remarkably given to the highest expression of the religious spirit. In the morning he read from the Bible, in the simplest and most impressive manner, making the words he read natural with life; and he made a prayer as if he were communing face to face with God, in a spirit as trustful as a child's. In like manner, his 'blessing' at the table was utterly void of all cant, was not in the least artificial, but the expression of a sincerely thankful heart, full of reverence and faith in the constant presence of the wondrous miracle of life." I confess that, as a student of this mystic teacher, I found myself strangely driven in upon the realities of the man's genuine piety, by the simple hymn of quaint old Dr. Watts, which, as a favorite with Emerson, was read over his still form in Concord church:

"Lord, when I quit this earthly stage,  
Where shall I fly but to thy breast?  
For I have sought no other home,  
For I have found no other rest.

I cannot live contented here  
Without some glimpses of Thy face,  
And Heaven without Thy presence there  
Would be a dark and lonesome place.

My God, and can an humble child  
That loves Thee with a flame so high,  
Be ever from Thy face exiled,  
Without the pity of Thine eye?

Impossible—for 'Thine own hands  
Have tied my heart so fast to Thee;  
And in Thy Book the promise stands  
That where Thou art Thy friends must be."

What a legacy to our country is such a life, such a genius! How divinely beautiful a being thus poised in strengthful self-control, crystallizing the rich elements drawn from a noble ancestry and from wisely ordered surroundings on a beading purpose of highest moral aim.

As one of the unfallen sons of the morning this child who went not out from the Father's house almost discourages us, poor prodigals, who find it so hard to win back to the spiritual homestead and become once more at home in heaven. But even our common and ignoble existences, of mean and petty conflicts and purposeless driftings, are lifted by the story of such a life in the flesh to the heights where we hear echoing down the ages the great word about men having power given them "to become the sons of God." The same consecration to the power that wrought in him can make us, too, the children of light. You and I can achieve the building of a man—"the end to which all nature works."

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust  
So close is God to man,  
When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'  
The youth replies—'I can.'"

R. HEBER NEWTON.

*East Hampton, N. Y.*



## MOB RULE.

**A**TENDENCY upon the part of individuals to disregard the established institutions for the administration of justice and to constitute themselves complaining witness, judge, jury, and executioner has recently become painfully manifest in various quarters of the globe. Among the anti-Semites in Russia, the army in Servia, the strikers in Holland, France, and the United States as well as among the lynchers and feudists, we find unmistakable symptoms of the same dangerous malady—a lack of respect for law. As this is not by any means a mere skin disease but one which attacks the social organization in its most vital part, it is certainly worthy of careful study.

Whether we consider it from the standpoint of the individual or from that of the welfare of the social body, one of the most valuable achievements of civilization consists in the safeguards which it throws about human life. As a result of centuries of experience it has evolved an elaborate system of institutions, the purposes of which are the protection and enlargement of the lives of its members. Its development of the means of transportation tends to protect life against the pitiless ravages of famine; its discoveries in sanitary science decrease the suffering and fatalities due to pestilence and disease; its inventions and organizations offer some degree of protection against lightning and fire; its armies and navies interpose a barrier against the destructive march of the invader, and its police and courts of justice furnish to the individual a protection against attacks by his fellows.

Time was when all of these functions were performed, if performed at all, by the individual. But gradually it has come to be recognized that in all of them the State has some useful function to perform, so that they are now performed in whole or in part either under its direction or through its own agents. This delegation of power has not, as a rule, been made in ac-

cordance with any abstract theory as to the sphere of State activity, but rather because, as a result of experience, it became evident that they could be more advantageously performed by it than by the individual. While the duty to refrain from committing crime still rests upon the individual, its prevention and punishment has been almost entirely transferred to the State, and it is with a consideration of this matter that the present discussion is immediately concerned.

In the Kishineff massacre we find a most dangerous usurpation of power upon the part of the mob and we find also a most cowardly acquiescence, if not actual participation, upon the part of the State. The protection of the Russian Jew was unquestionably a duty of the Russian government. Recreancy to this duty was a most lamentable breach of trust. If said Jews were guilty of crime it was the duty of the State to have punished them. But if, as seems to be the case, their offense consisted, not in acts but in creed and race, it was the sacred duty of the State to have, in so far as possible, protected them and punished their murderers. The weakest and humblest of its citizens, if law-abiding, are the most worthy of having the protecting arm of the State thrown about them, for the strong have less need of protection. It is not astonishing that protests against such imbecility and encouragement of a reversion to savagery do not make pleasant reading for a strong government.

In the Servian tragedy the lawlessness manifested itself in a somewhat different form. Here the agents of the State converted themselves into a mob for the purpose of committing a savage and brutal act. Granted that their rulers had forfeited their right to rule, the law-abiding citizens of Servia and of the rest of the world had not forfeited their right to expect that civilized methods of procedure be followed in disposing of de facto rulers. While not denying to a people the right of revolution, I do insist that the methods of the Pretorian Guard are dangerous, inhuman, and inexpedient. Such methods are not well-calculated to enhance or preserve the liberties of a people.

But to come to the phase of the question with which we, as

a nation, are most intimately concerned, to wit: strike-riots and lynchings, for neither of which is there any reasonable justification. Both are alike in that they involve a defiance of the law, yet it may perchance tend toward clearness to discuss them separately, as they are organized for the attaining of different ends.

A strike has for its controlling purpose the betterment of the economic condition of the strikers. With this general purpose, public opinion is usually in sympathy; and so long as peaceful, rational means alone are resorted to or countenanced by the strikers this sympathy continues with them and is among their chief reliances for success. So that as a matter of self-interest strikers cannot afford to disregard public opinion. Not only does the success of the strike depend upon a wholesome respect for public opinion being shown by the strikers, but there is a larger consideration which should impel them to refrain from resorting or countenancing a resort to violence. As members of the community it is decidedly to their interest that life and property be safe within that community, but in proportion as they indulge in or encourage the use of violent methods as a substitute for law they endanger the safety of their own lives and the lives of their families.

I am not now arguing against labor unions. Undoubtedly a man has a right to sell his labor to the best advantage, and in order to better accomplish this end he has a right to unite with his fellows. But this confers upon him no right to commit or encourage the commission of acts which demoralize the community. Participation in a riot involves a greater or less sacrifice of manhood, and an increase of wages if secured at such a sacrifice is purchased at too high a price.

The transition from strike-riots to lynchings is an easy one, for there is in both the same contempt for the peace and welfare of the social body. But of the two the latter is far less justifiable; for while the former not infrequently results in the destruction of human life, that is not its main purpose as in the case of the latter. To speak plainly, lynching is homicide of a wilful, premeditated sort—it is murder. The fact that

several participate in it does not change the character of the act; nor does the specious plea that it is done for the purpose of furthering the cause of justice. The truth is that it is to gratify a desire for revenge—a remnant of savagery.

Were lynching necessary in order to protect the life of society it would then be justifiable, for the community as well as the individual has the right of self-defense. But experience has amply demonstrated that it is neither necessary nor effective as a means for protecting society, but, on the contrary, it causes an increase in crime. Nor could we reasonably expect it to be otherwise, for it has a brutalizing effect upon the members of the mob in particular and upon the community in general. It cheapens human life, and whatever lessens that feeling of sanctity for human life, which is characteristic of the civilized man, renders your life and mine less secure. This is a psychological fact which should not be overlooked.

The lynchers excuse themselves, and a great many well-meaning people are wont to excuse them upon the ground that "hanging was none too good for him," that "the brute deserved all the punishment he got," etc. Grant all this and the main consideration has not been touched. We have not merely the claims of the criminal to consider, but those of the community as well, and viewed from the standpoint of the community every consideration of morality and expediency demands that the criminal shall be disposed of in a way least brutalizing to its members and least subversive of its peace and good order. The view which considers simply the criminal is altogether too narrow. Yet even the criminal has a right to be treated in accordance with law.

It is useless to endeavor to justify lynching upon the ground that it prevents miscarriages of justice, for where it prevents one it causes a hundred. In our saner moments we must admit that the administration of justice is much safer in the hands of the courts than in the hands of a mob; for in the minds of the latter, judgment has been dethroned and passion holds sway.

But what of the remedy? This is to be sought in two di-

rections: a more healthy and vigorous disapproval by public opinion and a more thoroughgoing administration of justice through the regularly established channels. No form of lawlessness and anarchy should be winked at by the orderly members of a community, but should be condemned in no uncertain tone. Infractions of the law by a large number of persons should be branded with as much ignominy as if by a single individual—nay, even more, because they are more dangerous. If under existing laws they cannot be punished, there should be no unnecessary delay in revising the laws. To convict a few lynchers as murderers and punish them accordingly would exert a very wholesome influence upon those in whom the respect for law has become intermittent. The vast majority of us love order, security, and justice, and it would be weak and cowardly to let the lawless minority deprive us of these choicest fruits of the tree of civilization.

EDWIN MAXEY.

*Washington, D. C.*

## NATIONAL CURRENCY OR BANK CURRENCY?

NATIONAL currency or bank currency—the people of the United States must elect almost at once which, for they cannot have a gold currency or a gold and silver currency. The supply of gold is too limited; the supply of silver and gold is inadequate. President Roosevelt, the sub-committee of the Senate Finance Committee, and many others prominent in business and politics—republicans and democrats—admit that the question is of prime importance when they declare that we must immediately have an “elastic currency” to meet periodic stringent money markets, to prevent fall in prices of commodities and securities, to stay financial panics—in a word, to make possible the continuance of general prosperity; and all urge Congress to give power to the national banks to issue notes at pleasure. They call their proposed notes “emergency currency,” and they offer all kinds of suggestions to protect them. Some would secure them by a deposit of United States bonds with the comptroller of the currency—the notes to be issued to par of bonds or to an amount equal to market price of said bonds; some by a like deposit of State, municipal, or railroad bonds; some by deposits of bills receivable held by the banks; some by a general tax upon all banks, a kind of insurance tax; and some would have these notes issued upon the general credit of the bank after the fashion of the good old-fashioned wild-cat bank notes.

But all propose to put into the hands of bank officers power to increase and diminish the currency of the country; to put into the hands of the men who loan money and credit the power to put up and to put down prices, to make men rich and poor. All propose to fasten upon the country a bank oligarchy, and to make of the money-changers a privileged class. All set aside, almost with ridicule, the declarations of those economists who affirm that there can be “scientific money,” money that will maintain stability of prices and so be an honest money—so be



an honest measure of values. They call national money fiat money; but it is a fact that all who oppose national money are out of sympathy with the people. They belong to the "House-of-Have," not to the "House-of-Want." They prefer to grow fat by living upon others who produce wealth, rather than to work themselves for the production of wealth. They almost deny the fact that money is the instrument of association.

What is money? How is our money now issued? How should our money be issued? These three questions our people should study, understand and answer for themselves. They are simple, and they should not be left to the bankers, who grow rich from use by the people of a banker's currency.

Money is the instrument of association, and association brings civilization. The government now issues money to those who work for gold, dig it out of the bowels of the earth, wash it out of the river sands; or to those who hire others to dig and wash for them, they having become under law, by the accident of discovery, by purchase, or otherwise, possessors of gold-bearing rocks and sands. To those who thus get gold, or buy it or get it by trade and take it to the mint, the government issues money. It puts its stamp upon such gold, and that stamp makes it money. So does our government now issue money. It issues it to those who work for gold. Once it also issued money to those who worked for silver—issued it first in like manner, later by purchase of silver. But it does not so issue now. It issues money only to those who work for gold, and to those who organize banks under the national bank law, buy bonds of the United States, and deposit such bonds with the government. Under our monetary laws these are the privileged ones to whom the government issues money—to the possessors of gold and to national banks that are the possessors of United States bonds.

In Civil War time the government did something more than this. Money was then issued not alone to those who worked for gold and silver for their own profit; it was issued to those who worked for the government, gave their services to the

government. Thus the government issued the demand notes and the greenback currency.

And how would advocates of national paper currency issue it to-day? To those who work for gold for themselves? To those who own national banks? No! To those who work for the government for the creation of public works of value. And this money we would have irredeemable in gold, certainly, but not irredeemable. We would have it redeemable in taxes imposed by the national government, and in the net earnings of the public works for the creation of which it was issued. This redemption would prevent its becoming redundant. Out of such earnings of public works we would have it retired, thus making place for the issue of more currency of the same kind for the creation of other public works. Thus we would have a perpetual cycle of issue and redemption, and have works of public utility—new railway and telegraph lines, for example, irrigation works, etc., paid for out of earnings that now go to pay interest on capital.

There is better foundation in government ethics for the issue of such a currency than there is for the issue of a gold currency. There can be no question but that the issue of money by the government to those who work for the government—give their labor to the government—would be more in accord with the rules of ethics than is the issue of money by the government to those who work for gold and for themselves.

A dollar bill is not a thing of value in itself, no more than is an entry made on the pass-book in which is kept the running account of a farmer with a crossroads store. The entry made in such a book is a record of value given and taken, and a record binding only on the parties to the transaction; and so, too, is the dollar bill a record of value given and taken, but a record binding on all persons in the community, as certified to by the government, and a record put in such form that it may readily be passed from hand to hand. And in essence gold coin is just the same thing. It is a record of value given and taken stamped upon a most expensive material; and the possessor of such coin values it not for itself, any more than does the possessor of the

dollar bill value it for the paper of which it is made, but because it is a check that will be honored by all men, redeemed by all tradesmen in their wares. The dollar, whether stamped on coin or paper, is in effect a check which certifies that the possessor has rendered some service, given something of value to the community, and is entitled to equal value from the community in return. Hired by a farmer, you labor at some task on the farm, help in making that which has value; and given dollar bills in settlement for your toil, what do you get? Bills that certify that you have rendered service of certain value, bills that not only the farmer will take for the product that you help him to make, but that all persons will take for their products, and that will, therefore, enable you to get such things from the community as you want, to a value equal to the value of the service you have rendered.

So it is that money by its nature is not a thing of value, but a representative of value; that coins and bills are mere counters, of no value in themselves, but that are of value because we can exchange them for things of value.

Now, as a dollar bill is a record of value given and taken, it is of inestimable importance that it should be an honest record; for if such record change, loss will be inflicted on someone. I have said that possession of a dollar bill will enable him who has earned it to command from the community, at such times and in such quantities as may suit his convenience, things of equal value to the value of services he has rendered. But if such bill change in value while he has it in his possession he may not be able to command as great value when he parts with it as he gave for it. Or, again, he may be able to command a greater value; and in either case there will of necessity be a disarrangement of equities that will cause unsettlement of business and work injury. An appreciation of the dollar will cause a shrinkage of general value such as cannot but paralyze trade and industry, for such shrinkage must rob the profits of all producers and tend to reduce debtors to insolvency, for with shrinkage in values there is no shrinkage in debts.

On the other hand, a cheapening of the dollar such as will

cause an inflation of general values, inevitably distracts men's attention from their legitimate pursuits by dazzling them with a show of the speculative gains, and leads on to an era of wild speculative inflation that must end in collapse such as cannot fail to give a paralytic shock to the whole industrial fabric.

For ever let it be borne in mind that there is only one way for a people to gain wealth, and that is to produce it by honest toil. They cannot gain wealth by despoiling one another or even by despoiling other peoples; and those things which conduce to honest toil are honest measures by which the fruits of toil are distributed. Therefore the importance of honest measures.

Now, we have seen how our money is now issued. I have stated my belief that it is issued upon a principle that has no warrant in political ethics; that instead of being issued to those who work for gold for their own profit, it ought to be issued to those who work for the government. For it is only right that the government should issue its money to those who give it value in return. To single out the producers of gold above all others, issue to them money for such of their product as they may deposit at the mint, and deny a like privilege to the producers of all other products, thus according to the holders of gold an exclusive privilege, seems wrong. And not only is it wrong in principle, but it is grievous in result; for our money issued in this way is not under the regulation of the government. The issue is wholly subject to the production of gold. Much gold produced, and much money will be issued; little gold, and little money. And while this is so it is too much to expect that we should have an honest measure of values, for the production of gold varies much. No one commodity is of unchangeable value or purchasing power, and gold is no exception to the rule.

The issue of money being dependent on the production of gold, and that production shrinking, as it often does, the issue of money must shrink. And if we cut down the supply of anything, its value will, the demand remaining the same, go up. As for the demand for money, it never does remain the same.

In a state of industrial growth—and we should so manage that such a state would be a constant one—it must constantly increase. If we do not meet such increasing demand with a constant increase in the supply of money; we must then have a rise in the value of money and a shrinkage in the value of things generally, and such a shrinkage will promptly put a brake on industrial growth.

Now do we want to have such a brake upon our industrial growth intermittingly? Surely we do not; and as we do not want to see such a brake applied we must see that the issue of money is so regulated that the supply will keep pace with the demand. While we only issue money to all those who deposit gold at the government mints this can never be, for such issue puts the regulation of the same beyond the reach of government and leaves it entirely dependent on the offerings of gold for coinage by the individuals and corporations—offerings largely dependent, in turn, upon the production of gold.

The issue of money to those who might bring silver as well as to those who bring gold would be an improvement in degree only. It would not bring the issue of money under the regulation of the government. It would leave that regulation primarily to accident, as now.

Nor is the issue of money to those national banks which deposit government bonds as security for the redemption of such notes going to materially change the status, so long as redemption of all such money is required in gold. And if such redemption were not required, or such requirement disobserved by the banks, we would have the regulation of money put further than ever beyond the reach of the government. We would have the banks, which would be interested to cause, now a fall in money, now a rise, in control of the issue; and in such a case it would be natural to have a dollar of most changeable value.

It is, indeed, supposable, but hardly probable, that the banks would not act under the dictation of the speculative cliques; that their managements would be superior to such influences; that consequently the banks would be managed solely with a view to the profit of their stockholders; that, therefore, they

would increase their issues of currency as interest rates rose, and decrease their issues as interest rates fell. This, we are told, would result in automatically regulating the issue of currency in response to the demands of trade. But we have seen interest rates rule their lowest when the country was suffering from a money famine and prices were shrinking disastrously. At such times we have seen the banks offering loans to the restricted class of borrowers to whom they cared to loan at all, at almost nominal rates of interest.

Again, we have seen interest rates rise just as the money famine has lifted and as the supply of money has increased. This cannot be put down to accident. In this we can see the working of a natural law; for as prices fall the profits of those engaged in industrial undertakings are sapped, and men grow more and more disposed to question their solvency. Hence, the banks grow suspicious of such borrowers, and hesitate more and more to respond to their requests for loans. Consequently such borrowers find it almost impossible to effect loans at any rate of interest. But at the same time and because of such very refusals to make loans to those engaged in industrial pursuits, money accumulates in the banks, especially in the financial centers, and we have congestion. Then, while shunning loans to producers of wealth, the banks seek to put out their funds on stock exchange securities. Competition in the placing of such loans results, and interest rates fall down, down, down. After a while there comes an inflow of money from some quarter, a turn upwards in the trend of commodity prices, a returning readiness of loaners of money to put their money at the risk of industrial undertakings, a drawing away of money from the financial centers, a rising of interest rates.

So it is that interest rates would make a false guide upon which to regulate the issue of money. The price level of commodities, showing the purchasing power, and, therefore, the real value of money, offers the one true guide.

The question, then comes to this: How are we to avail ourselves of this true guide? If the government, taking the issue of currency into its own hands, strove to regulate the issue as



interest rates rose or fell, it would encounter the interest law to which I have referred above. It would find in interest rates a false guide. Besides, I do not want to see the government playing the part of usurer in the issue of money. The whole idea of a government charging interest, usury, for its own promises to receive, for money it issues receivable for taxes and so redeemable, for money redeemable in postal services or in service rendered by other public works that the government may undertake, is repugnant.

And if money be redeemable in services of governmental works, and retired out of net earnings, why should it not be issued in payment for such works? What more natural than that it should? In what more natural way can it be issued? Let it be so issued and redeemed, and we would have a perpetual cycle of issue and redemption.

But how may we so issue it as to regard the true guide that we must follow to establish an honest measure of values? It has been said by some that we have but to hire on public works at a fixed rate all the men who may care to work. If we did, we would have a unit of values based on labor; we would have the rate of wages rather rigidly fixed. For if under such a system there came industrial depression, with the resulting throwing of men out of work, an increasing number of men would seek work on the public works, and as a result the issue of money would be increased. This would make an increased demand for products of all kinds, give an upward impetus to prices, and this a stimulation to industrial activity. Then would come more demand for labor. A slight advance in wages would serve to draw men away from the public works, decrease the issue of money, prevent a further rise in prices, and cause a retrogression until the general rate of wages had fallen back to that fixed by the government. Thus it is very evident that there would be no great margin within which wages could fall below or rise above the rate offered by government to all who might apply.

But, wages thus fixed, a day's labor made the unit of value, what would inevitably follow with the progress of industrial

evolution, the introduction of improved machinery, and the consequent increase in the product of the day's labor? Evidently the laborer could not share in such increased production through an advance in his nominal wages proportionate to the increase of his productiveness. From the possibility of such rise he would be cut off. He could only share in the increased productiveness of his labor through a fall in prices, and so an increased purchasing power of his wages. And though there came a fall in prices of equal proportion to the increase in the productiveness of labor, he would not get his full share of such increased productiveness. He would be cut off from this; for, with a fall in prices, the share of the product taken by the fund-holding classes, by those owning debts and drawing fixed sums of interest, must be increased. To a share in the increased productiveness of labor they would not be, of right, entitled, but under such a system as described above they would get a share; and getting a share, the share of the producers would of necessity fall below what it ought. Therefore, in justice, we must see that an increase in the productiveness of labor will be followed by an advance in the rate of wages, not by a general fall in prices; for if there came such a fall, the burdens resting on the backs of producers would not be lightened as they increased the productiveness of their labor.

Hence, what we have to do is to so increase the issue of money as to keep the general level of prices from falling. And how can this be done? By increasing the rate of wages offered on the public works whenever the general level of prices shows a falling tendency. Such increase in wages offered would, of course, tend to draw more men to the public works as well as to increase the weekly disbursements, and, consequently, the issue of new money, to those already employed. Such increased issue of currency would, of course, make broadened demands for many products, and serve to keep prices from falling. Thus a stability of prices could be maintained; thus an honest measure of values be given; thus honest industry be encouraged, and speculation discouraged.

As the foundation step to the accomplishment of this end, we

have but to learn this simple rule, so stamped with common sense, so evidently true that we may put it down as an axiom of good government: that money should be issued by the government, not to those who dig for gold, or to those who own national banks, but to those who dig for the government, to those who build public works of all kinds—railroads, canals, telegraph lines, etc.

When the question is understood, the verdict of the country must be for national currency against bank currency.

WHARTON BARKER.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

## SHOULD THE PEOPLE OR THE CORPORATIONS LIGHT OUR CITIES?

### I.

THE supplying of light from central stations by distributing conductors radiating over the territory supplied, is a public service that involves the use of public property and requires the exercise of public functions.

The community itself may perform this communal service or give to a private company the right to do so, clothing it with certain special and exclusive privileges and the necessary authority to exercise them. In other words, grant to a private corporation use of public property and the authority to exploit the public for private profit.

Electric lighting from central stations is now clearly recognized by the general public as a monopolistic industry not subject to the laws of competition. We hear no more about its abuses being righted in time by competition. Everywhere and always, pretended competition results in combination and increased charges for the service much greater than the naturally increased cost of same that results from duplication of plants and lines.

Neither do we now hear from intelligent opponents of municipal ownership the query once so common, Why not have municipal butcher shops, or municipal groceries? The butcher or grocer does not require special privileges, and has none. Monopolies would be equally as objectionable in those lines. Extortion, incivility, or incapacity in such competitive businesses meet swift and certain punishment, while good will and gain is dependent upon ability, industry, and fair dealing.

The burden of proof is upon those who insist that public property shall be used by a privileged few for private profit. Naturally, public property should be used for public purposes and be controlled by the people through officials accountable to them for their public acts.

## II.

The building up of a privileged class by alienating community rights, concentrating such rights into the hands of a few, is un-American. It is a revival of similar practises that for a time prevailed in the Colonial days, until condemned along with involuntary servitude, public lotteries, and other public evils imposed upon the struggling colonists by Charles II and his profligate favorites, in their effort to replace the growing democracy with an aristocratic system. It was "A sort of Renaissance of Feudalism," as the Rev. Edward Everett Hale expresses it.

The reactionary movement was stoutly resisted, franchises of every kind carefully guarded, communal interests sacredly treasured, and public utilities operated for public profit, the exceptions being few and usually taken back after a brief experience with a private corporation.

Thus over a century had elapsed, when New York City granted the then political boss, Aaron Burr, a franchise for supplying water. Finally in 1811 steam as a motive power came into use in transportation, and the beginning of the present era of private monopoly domination over public utilities, may be said to have begun with the twenty-five year exclusive franchise granted Robert Fulton and William Cutting for a steam ferry between New York and Brooklyn. Simultaneously corruption in New York City politics and complaints and petitions regarding such public services as had fallen into the hands of private corporations also began, and the end is not yet.

For many years and previous to the advent of private corporations as the grantees of franchises, no direct taxes were levied in New York City. The fees from ferries, rents from fishing rights, etc., were ample in lieu thereof. When in 1684 money was needed to defend New York City, £200 was raised by mortgaging the ferry for three years.

It appears the first franchise granted a private corporation in New England was for building a bridge between Boston and Charlestown, charters for other bridges, turnpikes, etc.,

followed until the conditions become unbearable to such a democracy as was then New England, a wave of reform swept the colonies, ordinances were passed abolishing such private control of public utilities, the law establishing a lottery for the benefit of Harvard College was repealed, followed by the extinction of the system of legal white slavery then in vogue, the victims being known as bond servants and probationers.

### III.

I have referred to these facts in our history to illuminate two points: (1) The adoption of municipal ownership for any public utility is not new or radical. It is simply following in the footsteps of our forefathers, whose wisdom has been verified during the intervening years by the injustice and corruption that has resulted from reversing their policy and granting to private corporations powers and privileges that belong to communities. As the late Governor Pingree once said: "The corporations are responsible for nearly all the thieving and boodling from which our cities suffer."

(2) Our history shows that so soon as a community is convinced that a certain policy is best, that policy will be adopted. Public ownership and control was resumed when private monopoly became unbearable, lotteries were suppressed when their evils were seen, slavery abolished when its degradation was felt.

Should municipalities return to first principles and retain in their own hands the administration of municipal functions and, more specifically, should public lighting be done by public officials or private corporations?

We were told in Detroit that the corporations controlled the sale of the material and the machinery, which could not be bought by a city plant, or, if at all, at such extortionate prices as to make the cost of lights from a public plant unbearable to the taxpayers.

Detroit's public plant has now lighted the city eight years. The first year the cost was less than the lowest price ever se-



cured from a private company or ever offered by a private company.

The lowest contract price was \$128.87; the lowest contract price offered was \$102.20 per 2,000-c.p. arc light per year on a ten years' contract.

The cost from the public plant the first year was \$100.50. It has steadily declined since to \$63.82 last year, adding depreciation, lost taxes, and interest at four per cent. on the investment to cash cost.

Depreciation is figured at three per cent. on the entire investment. Our experience demonstrates that this is ample. In the first place, real estate and conduits, on which there is no depreciation, amount to \$268,504.59, or one-third of the entire investment of \$802,438.93. In the second places, seven per cent. on incandescent plant, arcs and switches, amounts to \$90,078.30, or 11.2 per cent. of the total investment. Steam plant, amounting to \$129,515.34, or 16.1 per cent. of the investment, is figured at five per cent. These are over three-fifths the total investment, and other items are figured at their proper proportion. Besides this, the charges for maintenance include many items such as replacing poles and wires and similar equipment on which the depreciation would be higher than seven per cent. if they were to be charged to that account. These, however, are charged to operating account. Lost taxes are figured at actual combined rate (\$21.23 last year) for city, county and State taxes on an assessed valuation as placed by the city assessors and is an over-estimate when compared with the assessed values of other plants of like character similarly located in the city. For instance, tax rate same year per k.w. capacity Detroit Edison Illuminating Company, 2.37; Public Lighting Commission charge to cost of lights per k.w. capacity is 4.23.

This is my sixth year on the lighting commission and I can say, speaking from that experience, that the dangers and obstacles alleged to beset such a municipal undertaking and that are portrayed with such energy by those interested in concealing the real cost of electric lights are mere fancies. We have not felt them nor seen them.

The city will have gained in ten years operation more than the entire value of the plant (at least \$800,000) as a clear profit over what its lights would have cost on the lowest ten years' bid from a private company.

Under the ten years' contract the cost to the city would have been \$2,414,785.14 while from the city plant the total outlay for plant and operation, adding lost taxes will not exceed \$2,250,000 (actual figures are given to 1903, 1903 and 1904 are based on average increase of lamps and cost of preceding years). As regards interest; interest can be considered as applying only on the excess sum expended which is greater in municipal operation for the first five years, but much less for the second five years, the aggregate being less for the ten-year period. The difference in interest charge is not material, and is more than offset by the greater efficiency of service and its more equitable distribution, subject as it is under municipal operation to actual local needs, instead of "pull."

The benefits are not alone to the tax payer, for we give the union scale of wages and run on the eight-hour day. Also, once a year every employee of the Commission gets a ten days' vacation at full pay.

We were told that a public plant could not give decent service, because it would be run by city politicians.

The number of lamp hours reported out the last full year of contract lighting was 100,880, while last year under municipal lighting with 50 per cent. more burning it was but 6,825.

The average city politician, like the average man in any employment, holds his position by serving his master. If public utilities are in private hands, private interests are served. These private interests then run the politicians. The politicians can never run them.

The lessened cost and improved service alone, vindicate Detroit's experiment in municipal ownership, they are not, however, the most important results. Removing this public utility from private exploitation has shown our citizens that natural monopolies are harmless in the hands of their natural owners,

the community, but demoralizing and corrupting in civic affairs if surrendered to private corporations.

It has demonstrated that the service can be improved and the cost lessened by removing this public utility from private exploitation, eliminating machine politics, and applying to it the business principles that govern ordinary competitive enterprises. That machine politics plays no part is shown by the fact that the number of employes has been reduced from 112 in January, 1895, to 105 in January, 1903, notwithstanding the output for the same period has more than doubled. The permanency of employment, too, is shown by the fact that 38 per cent. of the present staff have been in the service since 1895, 59 per cent. since 1898 and 76 per cent. since 1900.

Machine politics and superfluous employees can find no permanent lodgment in a municipally-owned public utility of this character, because the cost and quality of the output are matters of public record, and economy or lack of it easily demonstrated by comparisons with other establishments. Therein there is a difference from the department of public works, the park board and such departments, where charges of prodigal expenditure are met by flat denial, and the real facts cannot be ascertained because there is no result of the labor which is susceptible of such definite measurements and comparison.

In contrast with this, compare Detroit's experience with public lighting prior to the establishment of the municipal plant. The constant trickery and blackmailing between rival corporations, and the fruitless efforts to enforce the conditions of the contract that absorbed the time of the common council, finally ended when an alderman, Protiva by name, in open council handed to the city clerk a roll of bills of \$200, alleging they were given him by the manager of the electric plant for his vote. This episode finally decided the issue in favor of the municipal plant.

That similar tactics still continue when private corporations perform public service is evidenced by the following verbatim report from the *Detroit Free Press*. It says:

"The Detroit City Gas Co. has sent to each member of the common council a request to nominate a few men for employment. With each letter was sent ten blank tickets, the filling out of which by an alderman insured a job to the holder, giving in one bunch 370 jobs to the officials who have the power to compel the corporation to live up to or to exempt them from the conditions of their franchise contract, to amend the contract and to grant them new privileges."

I might give many other proofs from the experience of Detroit of the advantage of municipal ownership over private ownership of natural monopolies, but I will conclude by quoting from one who is perhaps the greatest living expert on such matters, Mr. Chas. T. Yerkes. He says: "No monarch of the civilized world has such power as the ownership of such public utilities as railroads and telegraphs confers upon the owners, and if we add to this, ownership of street railways, gas, electric light, and telephone companies, we have a country of monarchs indeed!" (*News-Tribune*, May 6, 1900.) Mr. Yerkes does not advocate what I have shown to be the relief from subjection to these monarchs, namely, municipal and government ownership of public utilities.

At the "National Convention upon Municipal Ownership and Public Franchises" last February in New York City, I heard much about private operation and public control, from the representatives of the franchise holding corporations and others.

The old argument that cities can't operate a lighting plant or can't make it pay, is no longer listened to when hundreds of cities are doing it and are making it pay.

Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright's report of four years ago, has data from 952 plants, 320 of which are municipally owned. It shows that the average cost is less from the municipal than from the private plants.

The quality and quantity of light is frequently a subject of dispute between a city and a contracting company. If the current is cut or a light is out the saving goes to the city from a public plant. In contract lighting it goes to the contractor

unless there is an accurate account made of the reduced output.

Many stations make a practice of lowering the amperage at or about midnight. This results in a saving in fuel and carbons and is generally considered good economy. Does the city under contract lighting always benefit by this economy?

It is difficult for the city to secure definite and indisputable evidence as to the facts in disputes between a city and contracting company, regarding the wattage of the lights furnished.

For example: recently two Michigan cities, Saginaw and Rochester, lighted under contract, made the claim that the lights were under the quality called for. The claim was disputed by the contracting companies. The contract called for a 2000 C.P. arc, 450 Watts at the lamp terminals. Careful tests by experts hired for the purpose by the city, who connected Watt-meters to the circuits without the companies' knowledge, found the average of 12 readings in one case to be 340 Watts, a little over 75 per cent. of what was contracted for, the average of 13 readings in the other showed 400 Watts 89 per cent. of what was contracted for, the contract price was rebated for the 25 per cent. shortage but not for the 11 per cent.

A city must have an accurate record of the light furnished at all times as a basis for enforcement of contract. This necessitates the employment of a competent city electrician not affiliated with the public utility company's. He should be provided with an office and one wire of each circuit connected with a recording Watt-meter therein, this will show the time of starting, shutting down, and current supplied.

One fact I wish to emphasize and that is that the farming out of public functions may have an excuse in Turkey and the more despotic Oriental countries, but it is contrary to the spirit of democratic institutions.

If our government is not to be democratic—a government by the people—placing public utilities in its hands does not establish public ownership. It might be machine ownership, class ownership. A coterie of machine politicians would be as undesirable if direct owners as are the private companies.

Small choice for the people in owners, if it must be between machine bosses and the private corporations that control the machine bosses. As Professor Parsons has said, "Public ownership of the government is essential to any real public ownership of anything else."

The public in order to control the government must themselves by direct methods nominate their officials, the people must also secure to themselves their natural right to veto measures and to propose measures—the initiative and referendum.

Not until then will officers reflect the aspirations and desires of the people.

FREDERICK F. INGRAM.

*Detroit, Mich.*



## EDUCATION FOR THE HOME.

**A**LTHOUGH believing in coeducation and preferring it, I am not particularly prejudiced against the separate education of the sexes, for there are advantages in each method. I believe, however, that we would obtain far better results if certain changes were made in higher educational institutions. There must be given more consideration to the differences of the sexes and especially to the needs of young women.

The difference between the sexes is well shown in the two great principles in life, which so influence the family, the self, and the race. Self-preservation thinks only of the individual, while race-preservation cares only for the means whereby the race may be perpetuated. In conflict these principles are destructive one to the other; in union they make the family and so preserve both the race and the individual. In man self-preservation is strongest; in woman, race-preservation is strongest. Thus the two beings are well fitted for each other and for the preserving and perpetuating of the family.

The development of self-preservation so strong in man has made of him a reasoning creature, and on this account he is the dominant force in the animal world. Woman in the development of race-preservation has evolved the greatest thing for the preserving of mankind—love. Man's reason and woman's love are the two forces strongest in humanity and through which are preserved the individual and the race. Woman's love is the strongest and highest in all animal life, and by it she has guided man's reason to make for the young of the human race the best environments of any young animal life, and has thus caused man to make the remarkable growth from cave-dweller to civilized being.

As has already been stated, education of the sexes must take into consideration the differences of the sexes, some of which it may be well to give here.

The skull in woman differs somewhat from man's, being shallower, not so rough nor thick, and the lower part a little more projecting. It is a question if woman's brain is not relatively larger than man's; at any rate it is pretty well agreed at present that as far as the brain is concerned neither sex can claim superiority over the other.

Man is taller and larger than woman. In build, woman is perhaps more like the child than like man, with longer trunk and shorter legs and arms. "The man is larger, with a certain tendency to rugged though not unbeautiful outline, which conveys an impression of energy; his bony prominences are usually more conspicuous, and his muscles are everywhere more clearly defined. The woman is smaller and more delicately made; the bony points are less clearly seen, and the muscles, even though they may be powerful, are softly encased in abundant connective tissue which makes them less obvious." \*

As is well known, woman reaches development at an earlier age, her pulse-rate is higher, yet she does not show so characteristically the signs of old age as does man, and, also, she lives the longer.

Although among some people women are nearly, if not quite, as strong as men, yet this is not the rule. Man's strength, though greatest, seems not to have the endurance of woman's. Man has the power to put forth great strength for a short time, but he has not the faculty of a long continued effort as has woman.

Man and woman speak a different language. She uses the home language, somewhat colloquial, and abbreviated; she uses common words and short sentences; while man's language is that of business and of the bar and of legislation. Woman's language is softer, more musical, plainer than man's; for woman's is the language of love, while man's is the language of reason, and is, therefore, more forcible and logical. Woman's language is also purer, freer from vulgarity than is man's.

One of the greatest distinctions between man and woman is

---

Ellis, "Man and Woman," p. 32.

on the thought side. Woman, having in her more the idea of race-preservation, needs to be able to reach conclusions at once in order to have at hand immediately the things necessary to preserve the life of her offspring. Man, on the contrary, having self-preservation strong in him, has to be more deliberate and so he is a reasoning being. Man needs to outwit his enemies and must have time to reflect as to the best course, hence he reasons. Woman needs to satisfy the cravings of her offspring and must act quickly to appease hunger and thirst and the other calls of nature, hence she must be instinctive in acting; she does not have time for deliberation.

Woman on her entire emotional side differs from man. This is because of her physical nature being different from his.

Her strong emotional nature is strikingly evinced in her inclination toward religion, and education tends to bring this distinction out more sharply.

Woman has much more fear than man, yet when her young are in danger, as in animal life, the female becomes much less afraid of harm to self and will risk all for her young.

That man represents the self-preservative element in human life makes of him the most variable and hence the most progressive element in the unit. Woman represents the race-preservative element, and thereby she is the stable and conservative element. This is shown in many ways.

Women resemble one another more closely than do men. There is more variability in physical form among men than among women. There is a greater tendency among men to be abnormal than among women. Extra fingers and toes occur in men more than with women. Peculiar forms of the ear are more frequent among men. There are more male deafmutes. Idiocy is more common among males than among females. Criminality, insanity, and tendency to suicide are more prominent in men than in women. There are more geniuses among men. There are more big-headed men and more little-headed men than women.

This variability in man and conservatism in woman are not only natural, but also they have been aided by long years of

training. Man has had to go out into the world and fight to outwit his enemies and to meet the difficulties that nature has brought before him. Thus man has been compelled to keep changing. Woman, on the contrary, has been doing the same things all her life. She has always borne children, cared for them, stayed with them in a narrow place—the home—and performed over and over the same household duties. Thus she has been keeping herself conservative by these very things.

In the foregoing, there has been somewhat shown the differences between the two sexes, which must be recognized in education. If strong men and women are wanted in education, means must be taken to produce such. What may strengthen the one may not strengthen the other, so that there needs to be a very careful study made in order to see just wherein dangers lie for one sex or the other.

4 The work of the young man that will come to him as the father will be mostly external. He must go out into the world and gather together material for the mother and the child. It is his duty to provide the externalities. I do not mean by this to excuse him from home duties, but his great work is not in the home but out in the world providing means whereby the woman as the mother may properly carry on the home.

The college was organized to meet this need of the young man, to train him to go out into the world and meet it. Our great universities are striving in every way possible so to specialize their work as to give every young man who enters them the kind of training that he most needs to fit him for future life.

The university has also thrown open its doors to the young woman, so that she can receive identically the same training as the young man. I believe this is good. I believe in coeducation, that it is the most helpful for the young people; that it is best for young men and young women to be together in their college life as an aid to one another. I would not deny any young man or young woman entrance to any class in the university. Matter which is not fit to be taught to young men and young women together, is, except, perhaps, in very rare cases, not fit to be taught at all. I believe in higher education,

and that we owe it just as much to young women as to young men. I believe that it is perfectly right to allow any young woman to seek and to receive exactly the same training as is prepared for any young man. If a woman feels that she must go out into business or into law or into medicine or into whatever work, I say give her every opportunity to prepare herself for such pursuits as her tastes incline her to.

No one believes more in freedom for woman than myself. I would accord to her every privilege accorded to man. Let her have her clubs and associations. Let her vote and hold office. Let her have full and free charge of her own property and transact her own business. And in the marriage relation let her be the one to decide whether children shall be born or not.

Yet with all this, there still remains woman's natural profession of maternity, and woman must be educated for it. As the college has given the young man every opportunity to prepare for paternity, by allowing him to study to prepare to take up his work in the external cares, and thus provide means for the woman in the internal cares of home, so should the college give to woman special opportunities for preparing herself to properly carry on the internal affairs of the home.

I think it is safe to say that there are very few young women in college to-day who do not expect sooner or later to become the mistresses of homes of their own; and with all their planning for other callings, still they are also planning for homes of their own. My conclusions on this point are based on the evidence of others beside myself. A woman who made a study of this question in a large professional school, gave the following testimony in an article summing up the results of her investigations:

"The statements and conversations of more than twenty-five young women have now been given and as many more similar in substance to these have been gathered in preparing this paper, so that the closing remarks are based upon the frank statements of over fifty average young women, nearly all of whom are self-supported in some profession or occupation. . . . Of these fifty girls there is not one who has not said directly or indirectly that she pictures the happiest place on earth for her-

self in a home; neither is there one who does not hope some day to consummate her happiness by marriage. They are not seeking marriage. No modest woman does, and there has been a noticeable absence of economic motives in even thinking about it, though doubtless all would prefer comfort to poverty, but they are contemplating a home because they consider the state of marriage a proper and happy one for a woman; because they recognize the power of a good man's love and the fact that the home is the highest and grandest and mightiest institution on earth, and that in it are fostered the purest, noblest, and most unselfish aspirations and the ties that bind men to the good."\*

My own observations fully coincide with the above conclusions. I have never known of any woman so enamored of her profession that she would not give it up for a happy or an ideal home.

4 In education, then, we must recognize this home love in woman—must educate for it. I wonder if to-day in all this great country there is a single young woman that can truly say, "I entered college to prepare myself for a home and I expect when I graduate to be able to care for a home and I hope to be given one. This is my sole ambition." I know that we are approaching such and that some day we will have organized "A College for the Home," where young women will enter whose sole purpose will be to prepare themselves for the profession of home-making and maternity and will expect upon graduation to go into a home of their own. They will not be ashamed to say that they are preparing themselves for these duties and that they expect to marry upon graduation, just as they now state what they will do. Such a college will attract the finest and best young women in the country and the best young men will look to it for wives. If the young women graduates from such a college do not marry, it will not be because they will not be wanted, for women prepared for home-making will always be in demand. It will not be difficult for men to love such women.

---

\*Hoffer, "Paidology," I., 346.



A college of this character will have to grow and differentiate its courses, yet one might suggest work for such an institution, as, for example, courses in General Culture, Domestic Culture, Medical Culture, Esthetic Culture, Physical Culture, and Child Culture, although other names might be used.

Under General Culture may be considered the studies that usually come in the work of the college of liberal arts. The studies here should be such as will give a liberal training, yet at the same time as may lead to a love of the home at all times. This would not necessarily lead the young woman away from heavy subjects, but would tend to show her that such subjects give splendid training and help to solve knotty problems that may come to her in domestic life. This course should be a good strong one, such as will supply the woman with a strong foundation for her other work.

In a school for the home, Physical Culture would in many ways be quite different from that at present. A course of development would be here introduced that would tend to make strong, normal mothers as well as beautiful women.

The work in Domestic Culture would include the work as given now under domestic economy in our colleges. The young women should be especially trained in the preparation of food and the making of clothes for children. In fact much of the work in domestic culture must be centered about children. Under this course another step might be taken, which is a business preparation of the young woman. She should be instructed in matters of banking and bookkeeping, in business principles and activities. The young woman should be trained to carry on household affairs as a business.

In Medical Culture a very strong course should be offered. Especially on the side of nursing should great training be given. During four years' residence in college, and especially should the college be situated where were opportunities for visiting and studying in hospitals, the young woman could get most valuable training in the care of the household in health and in disease. Not the smallest part of the medical culture should consist in her learning how to take care of herself.

In Esthetic Culture the work as done now for cultivating the higher sensibilities should be given, but it should be grouped around the home. The aim should be to prepare the young woman to make the home beautiful, both with hand and with voice. Especially should she be trained in the cradle songs and melodies, instrumental and vocal, that delight children; in rapid sketching, in games and plays, and all such as may make home beautiful and attractive to children. She should leave college with a great abundance of such material and well trained in its use. She should be helped to have a beautiful voice at all times and to be proud of it, and made to feel that scolding and nagging would ruin it.

Child Culture should be preeminently the study of young women in a College for the Home. Such work should be very broad and should appear in every week of every year that the young woman is in college. It should be the great aim in this course to cultivate in the soul of the young woman a love for and sympathy with children. Such studies may be carried on in the classroom, in the field, and in the laboratory. In the classroom the student can be made acquainted with the material gathered about children from the many sources, thus to gain a knowledge of child nature as such may here be given. In this study the young woman can go over the different periods of child life—prenatality, infancy, childhood, youth. She can study the child under his abnormal and exceptional phases, and such a study is very helpful, for all children have exceptional phases at times. She can study the child among uncivilized peoples and among historical peoples, and thus may find clinging to the child with us to-day traits which come to him from the race of many years ago, and customs about the child which come to us from the doings of nations many years removed from us. In the field work, the young woman goes out and sees children as they really are. In the laboratory she will have the chance to study the child as he comes before her, learning of his growth, fatigue, memory, etc. Thus from the field work and the laboratory the young woman learns directly from the child himself and gains information and habits most valuable

to her. This is not fancy, for it is just such work as I have been having young people do in my department of paidology and so know of its value.

This paper is by no means meant to be a plea for the establishment of a college where poor girls may be educated for home work. For while such girls would be welcomed there would be no class distinctions, but it would be just as any other college, for the education of young women from wherever they might come; and such a college should be a part of every university devoted to coeducation.

When woman is trained for the profession of homemaking and maternity, then will she have reached out into the greatest profession in all human nature. Such education as a young woman should receive in four years in a college for the home would go further in her case to settle the matter of divorce than all the laws upon it at present in our statute books. Then would a woman go into a home prepared as a specialist, and as a specialist she would take great pride in it. One can hardly conceive of the pleasures and profits to mankind that will come when women become specialists in home-making.

The College for the Home is not altogether a fancy picture, a dream, for it is gradually being realized by our universities, and the day is not far distant when young women will study to become specialists in home-making, with the end in view of marrying and going into homes of their own upon graduation from college.

OSCAR CHRISMAN.

*Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.*

## NECESSITY FOR THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

THE People's Party was organized in 1890 by those who had become thoroughly convinced that there was no reasonable hope of securing a reform of political and economic grievances then and now existing in the United States through either the Republican or Democratic party.

That there is a necessity for the party I will endeavor to show by briefly epitomizing some of the many existing evils which both the Republican and Democratic party seem incompetent to remove.

A monetary system which has been abandoned to banks, bankers, and money brokers to be used by them for their own benefit and not in the interest of the people; a reckless expenditure of the public money to promote the interests of private corporations and political favorites; the continuance of a criminal tariff under the false plea of protecting American industries, whereby labor is robbed of wages and legitimate industry of its profits; the issuance of government bonds in a time of profound peace without a semblance of legal authority that dealers in money may have an opportunity to invest their surplus funds; the unrestrained right of railroad and telegraph companies to fix their own charges; the pooling of railroads and ocean transportation; the contempt in which those who labor in field and factory are held, and the bitter opposition shown legitimate labor organizations; the abuse of the writ of injunction and a brazen declaration by a member of the Supreme Court that the abuse is to continue; the use of the regular army to shoot down American citizens rather than a resort to the established constabulary of the country for the enforcement of the law; admitting non-resident aliens to own our soil, control our press, and infuse European ideas of government into the minds of our people; the evil foreign influences felt in the administration of our government; the con-

stant toadying of those in authority to European powers; a monopolized and censorial press by which the people are deprived of valuable current news; a monopolistic control of the essentials of life, food, clothing and shelter, by which the former is increased beyond its normal price, and clothing and shelter taxed outrageously in the interest of manufacturer and dealer are some of the vices from which there is no escape through either the Republican or Democratic party, and which call loudly for a party of the common people having the capacity and patriotism to correct them.

Our monetary system is without a parallel for absurdity in history. Without attempting to discuss the money question it may be observed that the country is on a gold basis, that is, its values are measured by the gold standard, and yet eighty per cent. of the circulating medium consists of discredited silver and paper, while the sovereign power to issue money and regulate its value, committed to Congress by the Constitution, has passed into the hands of favorites to be used to the detriment of the people. Under such circumstances those having the control of the money of the country can produce financial panics and bankruptcy at will and thus impoverish the people. As the volume of money has everything to do with the value of labor and property and is, therefore, productive of prosperity or bankruptcy, it is apparent that in placing the authority to issue and control its volume in the hands of private corporations and favorite individuals who, by contraction, can produce a sudden fall in prices by which much of the property of the masses passes into the hands of the few, and by rapid expansion can inflate prices beyond their normal station, to be again followed by contraction and depression, is a dangerous if not an absolutely ruinous policy.

As the value of money is purely one of function, that is, as it is solely a value in use and not in the substance on which it is impressed, the theory of intrinsic value held by both the Republican and Democratic parties is vitally erroneous and has done incalculable mischief.

The office of money is that of a medium of exchange among

the people for all things, and it should be a universal medium, and to that end it should be made a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and creditors should be required to receive it in liquidation of their claims. But, with the single exception of gold, all our money is discredited by law, while the statute authorizes the creditor to designate the money of payment, thus taking from the debtor a right he enjoyed for more than three hundred years.

A medium of exchange by the coinage of gold and silver on terms of equality to be supplemented by a volume of full legal tender paper money, such as the country enjoyed for over forty years, is demanded by the People's party and denied by the Republican and Democratic parties. Railway transportation of passengers and freight and the transmission of public and private intelligence by wire present questions of pressing importance. Railway and telegraph companies are in their natures monopolies. But few men can build a railway or an extensive telegraph line, while all must use them or are virtually affected by their use, and their services should by reason of this fact be offered to the people at cost.

The railway and telegraph systems are made engines of oppression and rank injustice; money is extorted by them from the people to build up tremendous private fortunes by legalized monopolistic confiscation through exorbitant rates, while their influence in our elections is sinister and detrimental to the Republic.

Respecting the transmission of intelligence by wire it may be truthfully observed that the transmission is rarely correct if there is a motive to suppress or falsify the facts, while it is notorious that there is not the slightest secrecy in sending news by telegraph or telephone, however sacred or confidential the communication may be. Falsehoods are scattered broadcast for facts, while matters of universal importance are censored out of shape or wholly suppressed, and the people left in ignorance of them.

That the evils growing out of the railway and telegraph systems cannot be remedied or, at least, that they will not be



as the government is now administered is obvious, and the only remedy is government ownership and operation. This neither the Republican nor Democratic party purposes doing.

Absentee alien ownership of our soil is a portentous and growing evil. If a man is permitted to own land in this country he ought to be a citizen, or, at least, a resident in sympathy with our institutions, and he should not owe allegiance to some other government, and this kind of ownership should, in the interest of national safety and common justice to our own people, be abolished. Will either the Republican or Democratic party abolish it?

Millions of acres of our best agricultural land and millions of dollars' worth of valuable city and village real estate are owned by absentee aliens who spend their incomes abroad and who openly sneer at and decry our form of government. One of the great business buildings in New York was owned by the late Queen Victoria and has doubtless passed by the law of inheritance to King Edward VII.

The evils that have been mentioned are vital and many of them fundamental in character. They negative republicanism and bolster up the theory of thrones and class rulership, while enriching privileged classes and giving to wealth the power to debauch or corrupt government and enchain the people. No friend of democracy can regard the real perils of the hour with indifference. Our government is menaced with evils that will revolutionize it unless steps are promptly taken to check the reactionary and oppressing advance of class interests.

That there is no reasonable hope for relief from the evils I have noticed through the Democratic or Republican party Populists firmly believe, and their belief is fortified by the fact that neither, when in power, took any steps to that end.

I have not attempted to state the entire Populist creed, as that can be found in the several national platforms and the Denver Conference Address. I have simply briefly referred to some deep-seated evils that the People's party would eradicate.

The Republican party is candid enough to admit that it does

not intend to correct any of the grievances I have noticed or to avert any of the threatened dangers I have pointed out. Will the Democratic party do so? There is a decided preponderance of the evidence in favor of a negative answer. When in power from 1893 until 1897 no attempt at reform was made. By the Democratic platforms of 1896 and 1900 some of the reforms I have suggested were stated as necessary, but the party split, a sufficient number supporting the Republican nominee for the Presidency to elect him. A distinguished citizen of my own State, whose overshadowing ability, spotless character, unswerving integrity, and *eminent fitness* for the office was defeated for the Presidency by a division of his party. The People's party supported him, hoping through his election that needed reforms would be introduced, but now that it is reasonably apparent that Mr. Bryan will not be the nominee of his party in 1904 and that the reactionary or Bourbon element will control, the People's party, as stated in the Denver Conference Address, has concluded to nominate its own ticket and appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of the country to support it.

WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN.

*Madison, Neb.*

## THE DIGNITY OF LABOR

"All the delights of Heaven are conjoined with uses, and are inherent in them, because uses are the good works of love and charity, in the practise of which the angels live."

I N the opening hours of the twentieth century a supreme duty devolves upon parents and instructors, and that is the teaching of the young that labor—honest toil—is the most dignified ambition of man. Instead of having servants running after our children, it would be well if we should lead them to see that he who serves with a loving heart is great in the sight of God and of all whose approbation is worth the seeking. Honest toil gives expression to the spiritual being and shadows forth the highest ideal of infinite activity. We must exalt labor by placing it on the throne of honor in the mind.

No man can escape the performance of the labor necessary to develop the individuality. Work is a divine privilege, not a curse from Adam. The very life of the body as well as the joy of the normal soul and the proper development of the intellect depends upon it. It is by labor that we build, each his own character in his own way. It is through work that we prepare ourselves for the to-morrow of existence, so that when we pass into the higher order of life we shall not have to pass this way again or come in contact with the same problems of thought life.

Nor is it enough to toil grudgingly and with naught but sordid ends in view. He who works merely for gain loses the soul of labor, while he who labors for the sake of labor puts soul into every touch of the hands. Love for the work that is to be wrought glorifies labor even as the rising sun glorifies the glistening mountain peak and its last smile bathes the valleys with golden splendor.

This is a commercial age, and the very commercialism which flaunts its tawdry robes and, Belshazzar-like, boasts of its greatness and its prosperity, has, by making gold and material

wealth the end instead of a subordinate means to the end of life, served to dwarf the soul and shrivel the higher faculties of man until it is no exaggeration to say that there are few great, well-rounded intellects in America to-day,—few men whose mental and moral power is giving western civilization the elements of permanent greatness and enduring progress.

Think not that wealth wrung from slavery in any form, or power achieved through ignoring the moral law, can by any species of legerdemain spell out greatness. Rome was never so imposing to the casual spectator when viewed from afar as when, rotten at the heart, her mantle of material wealth covered a civilization stricken to death in all its vitals.

Let us not deceive ourselves or be deceived by false shibboleths. We are living in an age so given to commercialism that the highest utilitarianism as well as the noblest ethics are being subordinated by a society insane with the lust for gold.

So strong has been the reaction from the noble idealism that blossomed in the birth time of our republic and toward egoistic materialism, that the great institutions which should ever conserve the ethical and spiritual realities have become largely recreant to their trust. The school and the university to-day tend too much toward the teaching of labor for gain and to a superficial view of life that is born of crass materialism. In religion, also, the same falling away from the spirit to the worship of things material and the dead letter is noticeable. That artistic element which enriches life by its great simplicity of thought and childlike attitude toward work for the joy of working is happily far removed from the sordid side of human existence. Unlike the theological concept which regards work as a curse placed on man for sin, it finds in toil dignity, beauty, and peace which afford the weary mind the sweetest and most restorative rest.

We cease to live spiritually the very moment we try to shift the labor of the common, daily life onto the shoulders of others, and seek by cunning ways to absolve ourselves from contact with the humbler uses of this life. We are spiritually lost the very moment we try to escape from the common labor of the

hands and the honest thought which is the fruit of that labor. It is, indeed, hard to keep pace with one's highest ideals in an age that is permeated with commercialism and when the lust for gain has made the gambling spirit not only tolerated but almost dominant in business life.

It is at our work that we must pray. It is good to pray in churches, but the real prayer of the soul is at the carpenter's bench, in the field, and at the household work. The scent of the shavings made in the little shop in Galilee was as an incense that mounted up to the heavens of man's fondest hopes. Our blessed Lord labored at the bench in the early morning of his life, and thus he left an impressive and practical example for the youth of the age wise enough to appreciate the true meaning of the gospel of service, the evangel of sane and healthy work. He forever dignified labor, making it the glory of God, not the curse of Adam. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,"—such were his words to the carping conventional critics of his age.

We are losing much of the value of real life in these days of materialistic commercialism, because of our worship of ephemeral baubles and our pursuit of pseudo-pleasures. We have lost the key to true growth, happiness, and contentment, and have come to entertain a false and ignoble view of common labor, the reverse of that held by the Master. Every artist knows that it is when he is at labor in his studio or with nature that the muse comes with her most soothing touch and uplifting inspiration, sending life thrilling into the clay or beaming from the canvas; and men call the result a work of genius. The artist knows full well in his own heart that it was his preparation of common labor which made possible what the muse did while his hands were honest and his heart sound.

The effort to escape work on the part of a portion of the community demoralizes society throughout all its ramifications. It curses the essentially dishonest ones who acquire what others earn, and it curses their offspring. It imposes unequal and onerous burdens upon others, making slaves where there should be freemen; and the consciousness of injustice deadens

the finer and stimulates the baser elements in the nature of the poor. Thus, crime is augmented and the misery and wretchedness of society increased. Give man freedom, under just conditions, or an equality of opportunity, and it is astonishing how the divine will assert itself and greatness will spring from the ashes of baseness. We have a most impressive illustration of this character in the development of the Australian commonwealth. Little did England think when she sent her criminals to the wilds of Botany Bay that in so doing she was founding one of the most prosperous and powerful colonies of her domain. *The secret of the development of the criminal up to self-respecting and ennobled manhood in this great colony was common labor and freedom to rise, without the artificial restraints and the injustice and inhumanity to man that one finds in the large commercial centers.* The English criminal in Australia found himself in an entirely new environment, thrown on his own resources, and with plenty of honest toil at hand; and he demonstrated to the world that the human soul, if given a chance, will prove itself divinely good. London offered no opportunity to be good, for there the poor were the slaves of the wealthy class. The over-rich did not and do not give the poor much chance to be free and to live as God intended them to. In cunning and devious ways they shift the toil they themselves should do in this world onto the shoulders of their brothers, and the result is crime. Low cunning and the reaping where others have sown, far more than drink, are the causes of the poverty, wretchedness, and crime in the social cellar.

I know of no surer way of ridding man of cunning diplomacy than by leading him back to a wholesome respect for common labor, where each shares alike in creative and utilitarian service that makes for individual development and for the common weal.

Is it too much to ask the artist to work with his own hands on his own statues; the wife and mother to return to her own home and there labor for the good of those who love and look up to her for the comforts that make for the honor and glory



of right living; the man to go out into the field and come in contact with Nature in her sublime moods and there learn that honesty of dealing which lives and lets others live, and the wage-earner to learn to love and respect the toil that God has put in his way? When this is achieved, the most perplexing social and economic problems of the age will be near solution; for all classes will be coming together, touching hands on that high plane of usefulness where, according to the old Egyptian concept, the great god Ra, when he walks in the two countries of the soul—the upper and the lower—will find all men brothers, and when Isis, mother of beauty and of all living things, will find her children giving their true name honestly, and not withholding it, having it written in shining letters on their foreheads,—and that name shall be *labor*, the glory of heaven and earth—Labor, the symbol of eternal happiness; for God so loved the world that he came in His divine human nature and taught us at the carpenter's bench in Galilee the most useful lesson that humanity will ever learn.

Ra, in the sun boat, rises from the East,  
The labor of a day dawns in the sky;  
Man lifts the sleeping body from the ground,  
Life is renewed under the blazing eye.

The sounds of nature rise in melting waves,  
The heart of man throbs pure and strong;  
The sower seeks the fields of earth,  
The maiden laughs at labor with a song.

The sun boat sinks again in western glow,  
The laborer leaves his work for honest sleep;  
Evening shadows like a blessing fall,  
And the souls of men are in God's keep.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

*New York City, N. Y.*

## A NEGLECTED PHASE OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

THE problem of the housing of women without family ties is, perhaps, greater and calls for a more pressing solution in New York than in any other city in this country; in the first place because the housing question in general for all sorts and conditions of people, except the very wealthy who own their houses, is more complicated here than in any other city, owing to the physical conformation of New York, and in particular of Manhattan where the working life of the city centers; and secondly because there are probably more single self-supporting women congregated here than anywhere else. Whatever claims other cities may advance as to being centers of business, intellectual, or artistic life, New York is still the glittering and often treacherous magnet that attracts the ambitious, the talented, or the merely deluded woman, who, thrown upon her own resources, is endeavoring to carve out her fortunes to the best of her abilities; hence, there are, perhaps, also more educated women workers here than elsewhere.

The educated woman wage earner is a very recent product of modern society, dating back not much further than fifteen or twenty years for most of the callings requiring special aptitudes or training, except that of teaching. Her appearance among the bread winners is due to several causes: In the first place, the conditions of modern social life, the fierce competition, and the social unrest, are either forcing or urging ever larger numbers of women into the ranks of the wage earners; in the second place, the splendid work done by the women's colleges is fitting more and more women for entering the professions formerly pursued exclusively by men, most of which are now, theoretically, at least, open to them, and this higher education, again, has paved the way for many new lines of work in the business, social, educational, and industrial world requiring special preparation. Exact statistics of this phase of

the woman's movement do not yet exist because it is so very recent, but the general statistics of women wage earners in this city may serve as basis for drawing some conclusions on that point.

According to the United States Census of 1900 there are in the city of New York 367,437 women wage earners, or, in the phraseology of the report, females of ten years and over engaged in gainful occupations, constituting 27.1 per cent. of the female population of ten years and over. Of this number 146,722 are engaged in domestic service; 132,535 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, these being commonly designated as working girls; 65,318 in trade and transportation, including clerks in stores and offices and "business women" in general; while 22,422 are classed under "professional service," including actresses, artists, journalists and writers, musicians, teachers, etc. The term "professional woman," which like other technical terms has been coined to supply a need, and still sounds strange to old-fashioned ears, is used in a somewhat wider sense than the corresponding term "professional man," covering the women engaged in all the newer occupations, not included under the first three items, that involve sweat of the brain instead of the brow.

New problems have arisen in connection with this advent of the educated woman worker, some of which cause apprehension in certain quarters as to the future of the race and the deterioration of the feminine instincts. For it is an undeniable fact, whatever the causes may be, that a large percentage of these women are without visible family ties; it is estimated that in New York City there are more than 20,000 single self-supporting women engaged in callings requiring special aptitudes and training. But the one problem that is of vital importance to-day for the unattached worker personally—namely, where to find lodgings adapted to her needs and means—has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of those interested in the welfare of working people. When one considers to what an extent a woman's physical well-being reacts on the efficiency of her work, and fur-

thermore that home-like surroundings in the hours of rest mean so much to a woman who spends the larger part of her day in office or shop, it is incomprehensible that the awakening social conscience, which is beginning to interest itself in the housing of working people in general, should be so slow to recognize the needs of the unattached women workers. Whatever has been done in this line has been done for the underpaid, in the form of working girls' boarding houses, and so-called "Homes," generally under religious or charitable auspices. Nor has the business aspect of this phase of the housing question in cities been considered to any extent, for while clubs and bachelor apartments abound for men of all ranks, ranging from Mills Hotels to the most luxurious "dens," apartments adapted to the needs of unattached women, and more especially the great army of women workers, are, with a few notable exceptions, still on paper. The boarding house or the furnished room have so far been the chief agencies in catering to the physical needs of the majority of unattached women, who have neither the time nor the means of making a home for themselves elsewhere. The intolerable gossip of the one, and the discomforts and chilling atmosphere of the other are too well known to call for more than passing mention here. But the whole truth has not yet been told, and perhaps never will be, of isolated lives passed amid such cheerless surroundings while battling for the daily bread. The tragedy of the hall bedroom is still unwritten.

The woman of a domestic turn of mind, with a spirit of independence, in time grew tired of this sort of life. Why pay eight and ten dollars a week for a tiny room, often with indifferent or insufficient board, when there are so many small flats to be had uptown, where one can have all the comforts of home and better food for the same amount of money? Three or four congenial souls, by clubbing together and taking turns in housekeeping, can live infinitely better on their joint incomes than if each one went off by herself to a hall room. This step from the boarding house or furnished room to the flat marks the period of the bachelor girl with her chafing dish. It is a mode of

living popular and perhaps most successful with the hundreds of students who come to the city during the winter. This colonizing of girls has much in its favor. Coöperation here, as elsewhere, means more for your money's worth. And as the arrangement is understood to be temporary, small hitches are easily overlooked. Less can be said in favor of this departure on a permanent basis, for the result is apt to be disastrous if time reveals serious differences in taste and temperament between the coöperators. But in those rare cases where two entirely congenial women come together, an ideal union is formed that offers perhaps the final solution to the housing problem for unattached women.

The inadequacy of existing accommodations has been recognized from time to time, and it has even induced the managers of one model tenement in New York city to divert that building from its original purposes as a family apartment house. When the City and Suburban Homes Company threw open for occupancy its first block of model tenements, the Alfred Corning Clark Buildings on West 68th and 69th streets, New York City, in the spring of 1898, one of the houses was set aside for self-supporting women, in response to many requests, and has been maintained with that end in view. Forty out of the forty-five apartments, of one, two, or three rooms each, with an average rental of 93 cents per room per week, are occupied by unattached women; the great majority of these are bread winners with moderate salaries, including nurses, teachers, clerks, dress-makers, literary workers, and day workers, and also a few small annuitants. The President of the Company says, in his third annual report:

"For all practical purposes this is a woman's building. The experience here has been eminently satisfactory. Good order, attention to the very mild regulations imposed, and promptness in the payment of rent, have been some of the results. Not a single cent has been lost in this building from irrecoverable arrears, during the fourteen months that it has been open."

The subsequent reports are equally favorable. This seems a conclusive refutation of the argument that single women as

a class are unreliable tenants, and that it would not pay to erect buildings expressly for them. No special apartments have been set aside in the Company's other block on First avenue and 64th street, New York City, though these apartments, with a somewhat higher rental, leave little to be desired in the way of modern conveniences. Buildings of this description, in accessible, residential parts of the city, with a parlor for social purposes, a restaurant where appetizing food may be had at a moderate price, and service within call of those willing to pay for the same—is this an impossible dream in our modern cities of flats? So-called family apartment hotels are springing up like mushrooms—indicative of a tendency of American life that seems to give color to the cry of race suicide,—but most of them are on so luxurious a scale and so high priced that they require a larger purse than the woman worker generally commands.

The efforts to interest capitalists in the plan of erecting buildings especially for women workers have finally borne fruit in New York city. For years the standing objection was that it would not pay as a business investment, and the idea of charity of course was excluded as foredooming any such attempt to failure. But the project would not down, for the need increased with the ever-growing number of women workers in the city. Those having it most at heart finally succeeded in interesting some prominent capitalists. A company was formed, under the name of The Woman's Hotel Company, with a share capital of \$400,000, "organized for the purpose of erecting in the City of New York one or more Hotels for the exclusive accommodation of women, especially of those who either maintain themselves, or are preparing to do so, in artistic, literary, educational, professional, mercantile, and kindred pursuits." The prospectus issued in January, 1898, still more explicitly states the purpose to be, "to supply greatly needed accommodations, combined with far more comfort and independence than they can elsewhere procure within their means, to the thousands of salaried and professional women of New York, and to those annually coming to the city for longer or



shorter periods of study, training, and business, and [the Directors] have established the enterprise entirely on business principles, with a view of giving to the share holders a reasonable income, with undoubted security of constantly augmenting value." The last part of this statement deserves close attention: it is a business enterprise established on business principles, promising to the holders of the 4000 shares a fair dividend. Thus the idea of charity, or even philanthropy, that is objectionable to most women workers, is entirely eliminated.

The Company was incorporated March 10, 1900, and three years later, on March 2, 1903, the initial hotel was thrown open for occupancy, with every room for permanent guests engaged, a large waiting list, and many inquiries from all parts of the country for transient rooms. This shows the readiness with which the women workers of New York have responded to an enterprise organized primarily for their benefit, yet without the humiliating admixture of charity. Prospective guests, moreover, are encouraged to support the undertaking financially as share holders, who are given precedence in the assignment of rooms. Thus a personal interest in the business aspect is evoked that should be of far reaching results. From this point of view it should not be difficult for the Company to get subscriptions for as many additional buildings as it could profitably operate. For it is the intention of the Company if the success of this pioneer hotel warrants it in doing so, to erect others in different parts of New York on a descending scale of luxuriousness and expense, so as to reach finally all self-supporting women in the city. The time is more than ripe for such an undertaking, and the need was never greater than now.

The "Hotel Martha Washington," the Company's first building, is a fire proof, twelve story structure, accommodating about 500 guests. One hundred rooms are reserved for transient use. There is a restaurant for the general public, a dining room for the guests, a whole floor of parlors, including a handsome library and a dainty tea room. The furnishing throughout is tasteful though simple; and there is a sense of generous space, light, and air about the whole building, that seems refreshing

to any woman who comes to it from the cramped, depressing surroundings of the average boarding house or flat.

Of course objections are already raised, and more will be forthcoming, to the sequestering of women in buildings especially set apart for them. While such objections may be well founded in theory, it is idle to argue on what should be or might be, in face of the fact that the number of unattached women in our large cities is increasing in proportion as the sphere of their activities is extended. And the student of social economics, who does not spin idyllic dreams of a state of society where every woman shall be mated and have her nest feathered for her, is confronted with the question: What provision is there for the woman living alone in a large city that will enable her to perform her share of the world's work with the least dissipation of nervous energy due to the friction of depressing surroundings in her hours of rest?

R. H. KNORR.

*New York City.*

## MODERN PARABLES AND FABLES.

### I.

#### THE JUDGMENT DAY.

POOR little child, the problem was hard, and the pencil scratched on the slate, and when the time for recess was come he went to the desk without any answer written upon his slate. And the schoolmaster, who was God, said, "We will not lead stupid lives; go back to your desk, my son."

Poor little child, the problem was long and the lines were crooked on the slate, and when the time for recess was come he went to the desk with a random answer written upon his slate, and the schoolmaster, who was God, said, "We must not lead wicked lives; go back to your desk again."

Poor little child, the problem was serious and the figures were blurred on the slate, and when the time for recess was come he went to the desk with the problem rubbed off his slate, and the schoolmaster, who was God, said, "My son, we cannot evade our lives; go back to your desk again."

To learn to love, and to live; these are the tasks before us.

### II.

#### THE UNFAITHFUL MESSENGER.

A certain man was made Ambassador of the Great King, and the messages of the King were delivered unto him.

Now this was a wise and prudent man: therefore, he said, "I will not deliver the whole of the messages, lest I run my head against a wall." So, where the King threatened, the Ambassador softened the threats: said he, "Such hard sayings will weaken my influence; and it may be that the King's business will suffer, unless, indeed, I am cautious."

But the King laughed when he heard what his servant had done and put him down from being his Ambassador. And those came after him that did deliver all the messages to the King.

BOLTON HALL.

*New York City.*

## TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

---

### THE PRESENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN REACTION AND DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The opposing forces in all the great nations of to-day are the same. It matters not whether we view Germany or France, England or the United States, Russia or Italy, the same titanic struggle is in progress between the principles of democracy and the reactionary theories which, though appearing under various guises, have the same animating genius and are in all instances inimical to the healthful life and normal progress of republican government.

Thus we find that in Russia the Czar and the bureaucracy are brutally and savagely battling for the supremacy of autocratic rule and the enjoyment of the wealth, power, and prestige that are the chief ends of all efforts toward mastery not inspired by fanaticism.

In Germany the Kaiser, the hereditary aristocracy, the reactionary clericals, and the bourgeois class or parvenu aristocracy have pooled issues against the extreme Liberals and Social Democrats.

In France the Republicans and Social Democrats are battling against the combined forces of reaction, represented by the advocates of monarchy, the friends of militarism, and reactionary clericalism.

In Italy political conditions are more complicated, owing to the fact that the throne, the Papal hierarchy and social democracy are all striving for popular favor. This necessitates the monarchy's displaying a degree of liberality that it would probably not exhibit if its position were more secure; while the frightful expense called for by the war and naval budgets (part of the price the people pay for Italy's position in the Triple Alliance) necessitates a tax burden that the people can ill afford

to pay and that renders the government far less secure than it would otherwise be from dangers within its borders. The pretense of the Papacy to secular rule and temporal power is probably a source of strength rather than of weakness to the throne, insuring as it does the support of a large and influential element which would embrace the cause of social democracy were it not that it fears, in the event of a political upheaval, that the Papacy might again gain the temporal supremacy that it obtained during so many unhappy generations of division, war, bloodshed, and oppression.

In England, as in the United States and Germany, the government is reactionary. Here Mr. Chamberlain, the head and front of the reactionary movement and the responsible cause of the unholy Boer War, represents the military or blood and iron spirit which glories in force, tramples on the rights of the weaker, pushes aside justice for short-sighted expediency, and seeks to further class interests instead of the underlying ethical principles upon which rest the true glory and permanent power of nations. It is a notable fact that this spirit of militarism and reaction should become the national exponent of privilege for the few and of the exploitation of the many. Thus we find Mr. Chamberlain and the government which he overmasters making war upon the principles of Free Trade, precisely as the party of protection and privilege in the United States is also the party of militarism, imperialism, and reaction. The unrepblican and tyrannical spirit of the present ministry is further illustrated in the passage of the most odious and unholy reactionary educational bill that has disgraced England since the old days of Tory supremacy.

In England, however, the friends of freedom and democracy have strong grounds for hope in the political outlook, for here the Liberals, after years of vacillation and incompetent leadership which rendered all opposition futile, are manifesting an aggressive attitude and adopting a more definite program; while the tendency to unite with the Labor party in resolute opposition to the reactionary tendency of the Unionists is resulting in numerous victories. It would seem that at last the Liberal statesmen appreciate the fact that conditions in England are identical with those in Germany which called forth the recent plea from the great German historian and statesman, Mommsenn, for a union of the German Liberals with the Social Democrats to combat reaction and prevent an autocratic *coup d'etat*.

Chamberlain's ministry stands for militarism and wars of conquest; for the hunger tariff and the religious and educational reactionary spirit which is a distinguishing characteristic of the reactionary parties in the German Empire; and the recognition of this fact is leading to victory after victory for the united Liberal and Labor candidates in the by-elections.

In the United States the political outlook resembles in many respects the conditions in England, with the important difference that here the reactionary plutocratic and class rule elements are not only entrenched in power, but are united and strong in the possession of unlimited wealth won through privilege, in direction and corrupt control of government; while the liberal democracy and the workingmen here are drifting farther and farther apart. The administration in the United States embodies the spirit of militarism; it has enormously augmented the burdens of taxation by increased military expenditures; it has championed a war of subjugation in defiance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and has incurred a cost to the nation of about two billion dollars. This administration last year passed the most infamous and un-republican military bill ever proposed in Congress. Its spirit, in spite of its fair pretenses, has been that of militarism, of blood and iron; and the horrible barbarities, torture, treachery, and murder in the Philippines, that have come to light in spite of the frantic attempts of the administration and the Republican Senate to smother the evidence, are a logical expression of the spirit of militarism which finds manifestation in wars of criminal aggression and subjugation.

The administration is not only imitating the reactionary government of the Kaiser in its spirit of militarism, but it is safe to say that never before in the history of the republic have class interests been so fostered and protected, or the demands of the banking class, the Wall Street gamblers, and the corporations or trusts been so deferred to as during the past four years. In olden times the treasury department was very jealous in guarding the interests of the people against the rapacity of the interested banking classes. In recent years bankers have been selected to head the treasury department, and the monetary policy of the government has been substantially in line with the demands of the Wall Street gamblers and the great banking interests. At every turn the demands of capitalism, of the reactionary and selfish interests, are primarily considered. The President is proving himself as complete a slave of expediency as he is a master of strenuous language. On every



hand corporate wealth is proving not only the virtual master of the administration and of the dominant party, but, presuming on the hopeless demoralization of Democracy and the deflection of the Socialistic votes from other liberal and truly republican parties, the machine and the corporations are forcing reactionary class interests forward to such an extent that the nation to-day is far less republican in many respects than other governments where friends of freedom in former times drew inspiration from the United States.

The crimes against the genius of free government in the interests of plutocracy would have been impossible but for the distracted condition of the Democratic party and the fact that that organization sheltered an element as reactionary, as opportunistic, as the Republican party—an element as beholden to corporate wealth, to Wall Street speculators, and to reactionary tendencies as the trust-ridden party of Knox, Root, Quay, Addicks, Aldrich, and Hanna. Hundreds and thousands of voters who believe in direct legislation, the popular ownership of public utilities, and the abolition of class legislation, have turned to the Socialist party as being a sincere and honest advocate of these vital demands. The division of the Democratic party has been the opportunity of the trusts, corporations, and the community of wealth, and they have improved it to the utmost. The present outlook for the early triumph of the fundamental principles of republican government and the turning back of the tide of class rule as embodied in the government of the corporations through the partizan machine and its creatures, is less hopeful than in several of the European governments.

It is not, however, without its signs of promise; for in spite of the great power of corporate wealth in owning or controlling and dictating the policy of the great dailies and many of the greatest magazines and other periodicals; in spite of the fact that the administration is bound hand and foot to the partizan machine and that the machine is absolutely controlled by corporate wealth and, furthermore, in spite of the fact that one faction of the Democratic party is as recreant to the ideals of republican government as is the party of Lincoln to-day, there is a tremendous undercurrent of unrest that is rapidly rising. The appalling revelations of wholesale corruption in the postal department, where the railroads have for years been enabled through the connivance of the government to plunder the people in extortionate charges out of far more than the annual deficit of the department; the amazing revelation of the plunder of the people seen in the treasury graft scandal and the western land

swindles; the uncovering of wholesale and systematic bribery by the corporations in municipal and State governments, and the increase of the cost of living from twenty to thirty per cent., with no corresponding increase in salaries or wages for ninety-five per cent. of the wealth-creators, are preparing the way for one of those mighty political tidal waves that at times move forward with irresistible momentum.

The distracted and disordered condition of the Democratic party, and the fact that the really republican elements are warring, when reactionary and class interests are united, though depressing to all friends of free government, are no cause for despair, but should stimulate the friends of freedom or republican government to enter the political arena with the fire, enthusiasm, earnestness, sincerity and superb courage manifested by Hancock, Adams, Otis, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson in that earlier day when class interests and reactionary rule assailed justice and sought to trample upon the rights of man.

\* \* \*

#### MATERIAL PROSPERITY AND PERMANENT GREATNESS.

To serious-minded students of history one of the most disquieting signs of our day is the all but universal tendency to elevate material prosperity to a supreme place in the consideration of the people. Our commercial supremacy, our material ascendancy, our wealth in dollars and cents—these are the things that from our President and statesmen down through the press to the vast mass of the people, are advanced as matters of overmastering consideration.

The question as to whether a policy or an action squares with the fundamental demands which differentiate a republic or democracy from a monarchy or a class government, is secondary in consideration to the demand of exploiting influences fostered by privilege and which have elevated the supposed requirements of trade to the throne consecrated and dedicated to justice, freedom, and human rights.

And yet history should teach us how pitifully shallow and short-sighted is a statesmanship or a national consciousness that permits commercialism or expediency to over-ride the demands of the eternal ethical verities. Out of the wrecks of the past comes no clearer voice than that which proclaims the doom of all nations that have exalted trade or material prosperity

over the empire of moral or intellectual rectitude. The austere religion of Israel, the philosophy and noble art of Greece, the justice or law of Rome, gave to those ancient civilizations their immortality; and the power and greatness of their peoples passed not from them until after they permitted the dominating moral ideals to become subordinate to sensuous and materialistic ideals. Egoism, the passion for wealth, ease, and luxury, and cruel and unjust subjugation of others finally wrought their downfall and death, but were powerless to wrest from them their crowns of fadeless glory or despoil humanity of the great gifts they bestowed upon civilization. Though their sceptres passed when the conscience of the people became recreant to the divine ideal which gave their civilizations vitality, their power remained a potent force in the world; while other civilizations, far richer than Israel or Greece in material wealth, far richer than Rome when she was at her moral zenith, vanished and are all but forgotten. Persia, Assyria, Egypt! What inspiration comes from these sepulchres of might and power? Babylon, Nineveh and Memphis are melancholy words, devoid of inspiration and suggesting a gorgeous pageant, rich in tinsel gew-gaws and red light, dazzling, perhaps, but essentially hollow and evanescent. On this point Victor Hugo, in discussing the power of education, the influence of the school in which the mind and the soul are informed, well observed:

Tyre bought and sold; Berytus bought and sold; Sidon bought and sold; Sarepta bought and sold. Where are these cities? Athens taught; and she is to this hour one of the capitals of human thought.

The grass is growing on the six steps of the tribune where spoke Demosthenes; the Ceramicus is a ravine half-choked with the marble-dust which was once the palace of Cecrops; the Odeon of Herod Atticus, at the foot of the Acropolis, is now but a ruin on which falls, at certain hours, the imperfect shadow of the Parthenon; the temple of Theseus belongs to the swallows; the goats browse on the Pnyx. Still the Greek spirit lives; still Greece is queen; still Greece is goddess. A counting-house passes away: a school remains.

This elevation of material considerations above the requirements of the basic moral verities and the underlying principles of pure democracy is as deadly to free government as would be the cutting of the tap-root fatal to the life of the vigorous young oak that promised to become the monarch of the forest. Gold may be a blessing. It is just as liable to be a deadly curse. History eloquently testifies to the melancholy fact that material prosperity may mark the decay of all that is most worthy or

vital in a nation or civilization. Time and again it has proved not merely the herald or forerunner, but the positive cause of national eclipse. Material prosperity is beneficent only when it is the handmaid of justice. Only when the dominating spirit in the nation is altruistic rather than egoistic, only when the law of solidarity and its implications are so honestly accepted as to be manifest in national action; only when the Golden Rule overshadows selfish desires, class rule, or personal ambition, can material prosperity add to the real glory and permanent greatness of a people.

\* \* \*

### HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT AND SORDID GAIN.

Among the many examples of sophistry, as shallow as it is pernicious, which wealth and privilege are industriously disseminating, is the claim that the incentive of money or material personal gain is the chief inspirer of genius, invention, and discovery. It is asserted as a dogmatic fact that if social changes were inaugurated in which the incentive to personal wealth was withdrawn, dullness and mediocrity would flourish where now society is being enriched by wonderful discoveries, master strokes of inventive genius, and rich creations of the splendid imaginations of artists, poets, and scholars, because the mainspring of action would be removed; which is equivalent to saying that wealth of the mind and soul—the glories of the imagination, the revelations of science, and the creations of literature and art—is chiefly stimulated by the lash of hunger or the sordid dream of golden treasures.

That the intelligence and common sense of the public should be so insulted by the constant iteration of sophistry belied by every page of history, would be incredible if it were not for the fact that we are in the midst of an age of commercial materialism in which success in life is measured by the acquirement of gold by the high-priests of conventionalism, and where the fear of hunger and want is an ever-present specter in millions of homes. As a matter of historical fact only a small minority of the men of genius who have won an enviable immortality through enriching civilization and ennobling mankind, have been by nature so slothful that hunger served to urge them to conquests or achievements; while still fewer have been stimulated by a sordid dream.

Genius is nothing if not restless and active. Her children may be and often are erratic. They are seldom slothful. Run over the list of those who have been chief among the prophets, poets, painters, sculptors, scientists, discoverers, and inventors, and it will be seen that while few were driven by hunger or lured by avarice, many were terribly hampered by poverty and paralyzed by the ever-present fear of the starvation and suffering of those dependent upon them. It will be seen that the greatest benefactors of humanity were either among the poor who sought not personal wealth but rather the benefit of humanity, or were in comfortable circumstances such as would be within the reach of all men and women under just social conditions in which equal opportunities and rights should be guaranteed to all and special privileges granted to none.

Take the prophets and ethical leaders, from Isaiah to Savonarola, Luther, Mazzini, Wilberforce, Garrison, and Phillips. How many were urged on by the gnawings of hunger or the passion for gold, or stimulated by any thought of self? Not one. Take the philosophers, from Socrates and Plato to Locke, Rousseau, Kant, and Emerson. The same facts are revealed. Take sculpture and painting, from Phidias to Michaelangelo; from Raphael to Millet. How many wrought merely for bread or slaved for wealth? The same is true of discovery, from Columbus to Humboldt, and from Humboldt to Livingstone. In science Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, Tyndall, Crookes, and Kelvin are typical of the master spirits in special fields, some of whom exiled themselves from country and the comforts of civilization for long periods, with no thought other than the discovery of new truth. The passion for truth, together with its sister passions, those of love and beauty—the trinity of divine expression—has been the inspirer of genius and beneficent action in all ages and times. But often, indeed, has necessity compelled these torch-bearers of progress and enrichers of mankind to turn from their great work and the splendid dreams that filled their brains with divine light, and which might and would have enriched all future ages had they been given to the world, in order to drudge and toil that loved ones dependent upon them should not starve.

Under just social conditions all this would disappear. The haunting fear of a morrow of want and starvation would be forever banished, and the brain and soul would know that freedom that is above all necessary for the noblest expression of life on any plane. Then would come grander ideals, nobler ethics, loftier philosophy, more splendid art, more marvelous

scientific discoveries, and greater inventions than the world has ever known, for then for the first time conditions favoring the people as a whole would foster the full-orbed expression of the best in every life. If the nineteenth century was the most wonderful hundred years in civilization's annals, it was primarily because humanity enjoyed a greater measure of freedom and because education was more diffused than ever before. Under still juster conditions the incentives to genius and intellectual achievements would be greatly augmented. The broader vision of justice and the proud consciousness that the new freedom which fosters joy and growth would be no longer the prize of the few but the splendid heritage of the millions, would give a deeper, richer, diviner meaning to life than was possible in any age in which egoism was the dominant note, and where war and competition fostered the savage in the soul of man.

And more than this, the recognition of the solidarity of life, in so far as it relates to humanity, would lift man to spiritual heights only as yet traversed by the very elect. It would bring the soul into such close rapport with the Infinite that the eyes of man would be opened anew, and he would see not only good and evil, but would perceive how beneficent, how altogether lovely is the good; and he would see that truth and love and beauty are one, or are but different manifestations of the same Infinite Life; that, while truth speaks to reason, and beauty feeds and purifies the imagination, love warms and glorifies the heart or soul; while in them all is heard the voice of the Infinite—the voice of the All-Father, who is Light and Life and Love.



## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

A PRINCE OF SINNERS. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. 386 pp. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

In "A Prince of Sinners" we have one of the best novels of the year, and though its economic theories impress us as being shallow and worse than valueless, as we shall later point out, the novel considered as a clever story of present-day social life in England has few peers in recent fiction.

The personality that stands out most boldly in the romance is Lord Arranmore, the "Prince of Sinners," though perhaps the best character study is that of the wealthy parvenue, Mr. Bullsom, a contractor who has by modern financial methods amassed an enormous fortune. He is unlettered, and at times suggests Mr. Howells' Silas Lapham, but he has a thoroughly good heart and it is with pleasure that the reader follows his good fortune, which finally leads him to the House of Commons.

In the opening chapter and for some time after Lord Arranmore is cloaked in mystery, as is also the paternity of Kingston Brooks, a young barrister second only to Arranmore in prominence in the work. The lord's life, as is finally revealed, has been marked by amazing extremes. A younger son of a wealthy English nobleman, he was suddenly brought face to face with the frightful wretchedness of the submerged tenth in London. So profoundly was he impressed that, from a life of gaiety and frivolity, he turned to a career of self-abnegation. Suddenly and mysteriously disappearing from his accustomed haunts and taking the name of Brooks, he worked in the most wretched sections of London for many years. At length he became a police court missionary, and while engaged in his philanthropic work he married a lady who like himself had foresworn all in life save ministering to the outcasts and exiles of society. There was no special affinity between them other than mutual interest in their work, but in the course of time a son was born, not, however, before the father, broken in health and spirit, had come measurably under the baleful psychological influence of the social cellar. And here our author displays a knowledge of the new psychology as accurate and profound as his protection views are superficial and sophistical. Those who have made a close study of the subtle influences which sway the mind in a psychic or psychological manner have found a key to many things that were hitherto insoluble mysteries. They understand, for example, that when a physical organism or nature has become ener-

\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

vated by over-work, fatigue, mental worry, or physical disease, the mind becomes negative and incapable of resisting the intangible influences born of the psychical environment that under normal conditions and with a sound, healthy body and an unoppressed mind would have no perceptible effect. The telepathy of the pit, the psychic miasma of the under-world of dissipation and moral death is at once the most subtle and one of the most deadly influences that assail the moral and mental nature when man is in a weakened or negative state. And either knowing this fact from the later revelations of advanced psychology, or following the lead of truth as a mind touched with the madness of genius is wont to do, our author has given a faithful picture of the giving way of the moral and mental equilibrium of a man whose health had been shattered by over-work in the most horrible environment, and whose mind had been long oppressed by the hopelessness of the outlook for the spawn of civilization's inferno. At length this worker, who for years had lived in an atmosphere of physical and moral contagion, was overtaken by brain fever, and it was as though the manes of the multitude who had gone to their graves through the gates of debauchery held high carnival in his brain. As his physical nature began to reassert itself his mind was possessed with an insane desire to get out of England and in a foreign land let loose all the baser elements of his being in a riot of dissipation such as he had seen tragically depicted for years. With the cunning frequently found among the insane he feigned the need of a change of climate. The wife and the family physician, beholding the wreck of a once noble manhood, encouraged his desire to go to Australia. He, however, had no idea of going to the antipodes. Before leaving he settled most of his money on his wife and son. Then he fared forth, ostensibly for a visit to Australia, but in reality he sailed for Canada. Arriving in Montreal he assumed a fictitious name and entered upon a career of vice and debauchery. He became an expert gambler and in a short time acquired quite a competence, winning from almost all with whom he played and leading one poor man—the father of a girl who later as Mary Scott becomes a leading character in the story—to commit suicide. The riot of debauchery at length spent itself, and in a certain sense the wayward prodigal came to himself. He was, indeed, in the far country and had put a great distance between himself and the normal Soul of the Universe. But during this waking hour of his soul he was led by the inner light to abandon man and sin and to flee to the heart of nature. In a cabin in the woods, miles from any human habitation, this man lived for years, and living thus he recovered to a great extent his moral and mental poise. At length news arrived that he had fallen heir to the title and the fabulously rich estates of the Marquis of Arranmore. He had been known as Philip Ferringshaw in Canada, as he was known as Brooks in London. He now emerged from the wilds of America to assume his title as Lord Arranmore, but a frightful change had come

over this man who now posed as a cold, heartless cynic. All this, however, is incidental to the main story and though intimately related to what follows, occurs before the story opens.

In the romance Kingston Brooks is introduced to the public by Mr. Bullsom on the hustings. A parliamentary election is being held in the district in which Mechester, a great manufacturing city is situated. Brooks manages the campaign for a Liberal candidate. The war in Africa is over and the reaction has come. Mechester is thronged with out-of-works. Industry is paralyzed. Men, women, and children are starving. The Liberal candidate amazes and confounds friends and foes by declaring that he is going to advocate a protective tariff in order to start up the factories and give work to the unemployed. There is much of the threadbare sophistry here introduced with which Americans have been long regaled for the financial advancement of classes enjoying special privileges, and there are many inferences not legitimate because based either on false premises or opposed to the historical facts in the case.

In a demagogical speech the candidate wins over the discontented and gains his seat, only to do as machine candidates in America are wont to do, that is, ignore all ante-election pledges. Brooks and Bullsom, however, after striving to get him to carry out his pledges, compass his defeat at the next election, and Bullsom succeeds him.

Brooks has become in a degree enamored of a niece of Mr. Bullsom, Mary Scott, to whom we have referred as having been orphaned in Montreal through the ruin of her father by the future Lord Arranmore. Later Brooks finds that the nobleman is his father, but he spurns all advances made by the latter because of the desertion of his mother. The fact that Arranmore's mind was unhinged at the time of the desertion has no weight with Brooks, who is decidedly priggish and thoroughly egotistic.

An old sweetheart of Arranmore's and her daughter, Lady Sybil Caroom, occupy a large place in the story. The nobleman seeks the hand of the only woman he ever deeply loved, but she fears to marry a man who has descended into hell and lived there so long. Brooks' affection is divided for a time between Lady Sybil and Mary Scott. This is while he is creating a furor in London by pushing to success a rational or common-sense movement for the reclamation of the submerged tenth by practically assisting their physical needs instead of feeding them on religious tracts or dispensing theological homilies. Mary Scott becomes one of his most efficient aids, and Sybil also engages in the work for a time. At length a journalist assails Brooks, and the Bishop of Beeston after introducing a bill into Parliament to put all charitable institutions under the control of the church, makes a vigorous defense of his measure. Lord Arranmore, who has taken his seat in Parliament, replies in a scathing arraignment of conventional religious charity so effectively as to overwhelmingly defeat the Bishop's bill.

The story ends with the old-time sweetheart accepting Lord Arranmore, the reconciliation of father and son, and, presumably, a happy outcome of Brooks' love affairs.

The novel is written in excellent style, the characters are strongly drawn, the interest of the reader never flags, and the novel as a romance is satisfying. Its economic theories, however, impress us as being thoroughly fallacious and indicative of very superficial knowledge on the part of the author of either the facts of history or the causes that underlie deplorable social conditions. He represents the business stagnation that has overtaken England now that the unholy Boer War is over and the great burden of taxes is falling on the people, as the result of Free Trade, and points as conclusive proof of the fact to the apparently prosperous conditions in America, in connection with the problem of the unemployed in England.

The reasoning is as superficial as the premises upon which his argument rests are unsound. One has only to go back in his mind ten years in our country's history to find himself confronted by a period of business depression, in spite of the boundless natural resources and great wealth of the United States, which presented as tragic a spectacle as anything seen in England to-day. There were then tens if not hundreds of thousands of people in New England eagerly clamoring for the opportunity to work that they might not starve. More than a million able-bodied men and women in the United States were begging for work of any kind, but finding none. Many thousands assembled on Beacon Hill in Boston and pled with the law-makers to let them labor on some public works that they might not starve. Cox's army marched peaceably to Washington, occasioning much apprehension in the minds of the moneyed class, while the spectacle of unemployed thousands begging for the privilege of working was familiar in every great city.

Now all this misery, this mighty army of over a million out-of-works, many of whom were in a starving condition, occurred under a high tariff régime, during the halcyon days of protection. True, the trusts were not so powerful and wealth had not been so augmented in the hands of the few as now; but the protectionists were so rich and powerful as to prevent any material lowering of the tariff, which would have relieved the condition of the unemployed and rendered less pitiable the lot of the very poor by making life's necessities cheaper in price. There was an insufficient circulating medium, due to the machinations of the money power and seven years of successive crop failures. These had occasioned a condition of widespread misery that had never before been equalled in America and was almost comparable to the terrible starvation and widespread poverty in England before the triumph of Free Trade, when Great Britain was in the grip of the protectionists. The stagnation in business, the problem of the unemployed, and the suffering of the poor in England to-day are not a circumstance to what they were when the landlords were waxing rich off of dear bread and all Free Trade talk was denounced as rank heresy.

With us the Spanish War set in circulation vast sums of money, while the expense of the war stimulated anew stagnant industry. The revival of business came as reformers predicted it would come, with the increase of money in circulation; but what more than aught else has given us what prosperity we really have, that is solid in character, are the successive seasons of enormous crops and the great demand for our products, due to war and failure of crops in other parts of the world. Much of our so-called prosperity, however, is anything but real. Vast sums on paper, or inflated capitalizations, or the presence of what J. Pierpont Morgan happily termed "undigested securities," are in no sense real wealth or evidences of healthy prosperity; while the rapid augmentation of wealth, through protective legislation and other special privileges, in the hands of a very few, is wealth gained at the expense of the many, and when a period of depression comes, when a succession of bad crops overtakes us, we will be liable to see even worse times in America than England now experiences; for government in the mother country is far more responsive to public interests and less subservient to the demands of corporate greed than with us.

The economic theories advanced in this book impress us as shallow and thoroughly fallacious, but the romance considered as such is without doubt one of the best stories of the year.

THE MAIN CHANCE. By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 419. Price 1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The Hoosier State was long regarded by the literati east of the Appalachian Mountains much as the Pharisees of old regarded Nazareth. Recent years, however, have wrought a very marked change—such a change, indeed, that Indiana is fast becoming the Massachusetts of the Middle West, thanks to Gen. Lew Wallace, James Whitcomb Riley, the late John Clark Ridpath, the late Maurice Thompson, Booth Tarkington, and other writers of marked ability, and also in no small measure to the presence in its State capital of a strong, progressive, and discriminating book publishing house. The Bobbs-Merrill Company has of late been to Indiana, in a measure, at least, what Houghton, Mifflin and Company and their predecessors were to New England. They have made a literary center and are stimulating literary efforts. During the present year no publishing house in America has sent out more novels of the first class or clothed its fiction in more elegant dress than this enterprising firm. And, what is more important, they are introducing some strong new writers to the public. The latest example of this kind is found in Meredith Nicholson, whose new book, "The Main Chance," justly entitles him to a high place among the vigorous and wholesome novelists of the west.

"The Main Chance" is a strong, clean, wholesome story of western life, thoroughly natural, devoid of plot, and with little of the melodramatic about it, but very strong in human interest; absorbing because, while being thoroughly true to life, its characters are drawn with

the skill and power of a gifted intellect trained to closely observe human nature. In many places the story strongly reminds one of Hamlin Garland's romances, but with no suggestion of imitation. The resemblance is due to the fact that both writers picture western life with the power of the veritist novelist, and both are thoroughly acquainted with the free western types. True, they deal with different spheres of life, Mr. Garland being the apostle of out-door existence and for the most part the depicter of toil-worn life; while Mr. Nicholson concerns himself chiefly with the denizens of Clarkson, a western city in the Missouri Valley, and his characters are found principally among the educated, the wealthy, or the well-to-do, although the hero, John Saxton, is neither independent in circumstances nor a western man. On the contrary, he hails from New England, though he is not unfamiliar with the west, for after graduating from Harvard he sank what little means he possessed in a ranch in Wyoming. After this costly experience he returned to Boston, when he was commissioned by the Neponset Trust Company to go west and straighten out their business difficulties due to loaning money on western securities before the long years of crop failures and hard times of a decade ago.

Saxton makes his headquarters at Clarkson, and with characteristic American determination and perseverance enters upon his labors. Here he meets and falls in love with Evelyn Porter, the only daughter of one of the old bankers of the town, and a belle in Clarkson where she has many suitors, the principal of which are a childhood playmate, Warry Raridan, and the cashier of Mr. Porter's bank.

There is much action and some exciting adventures and happenings, for, as we have observed, a strong human interest runs through the work, such as will always attach to a story dealing with real people who are natural, wholesome, and depicted with the power of a true novelist.

Evelyn Porter is a fine type of the unspoiled American girl whose education has strengthened her character as well as polished her manners. The portrayal of Warry Raridan also is a graphic piece of character study. He is the bright though sometimes superficial young man who from the knee-breeches age has been the lover of the banker's daughter, but who, having been cursed with so much money that he does not have to work, trifles away his days as a butterfly in July.

But perhaps James Wheaton, the cashier of the bank and a suitor for Evelyn's hand, is the most suggestive creation. As a small boy east of the Mississippi, he engaged with his brother in a theft, but on account of the brother's magnanimity in taking all the blame, Jim was not sent to prison. He thus had the one chance that would be the saving of thousands of youthful criminals if given them, and while his brother served sentence he secured a position as newsboy on a train. Later he drifted into Clarkson, secured a permanent position, and by faithful service gained the confidence of the people. Finally he was employed in the bank as errand boy, and later, after several promotions, was made cashier of the institution; while his brother, in prison, as-



sociated with men schooled in crime, became a hardened criminal and a confirmed law-breaker. He is the evil genius of the story, as John Saxton is the hero, and in the end the successful suitor.

The story is a capital romance of present-day western life, and a credit to the literature of the Mississippi Valley.

**REFORM IN THE JUNGLE.** By Oliver C. McCardell. Cloth. 60 pp. Price 50 cents. Washington, The Neale Pub. Co.

This is a bright little book for children, giving the imaginary biography of a member of the royal Chimpanzee dynasty who was kidnapped and taken to America, where he passed through many unhappy experiences, but finally succeeded in getting on board a vessel carrying mules to South Africa and in due time reached his home and ascended the throne of his fathers.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

---

CHIEF JUSTICE CLARK ON THE PERILS OF THE PRESENT:—Last month we opened a series of notable papers on vital political and economic themes, by master minds among our educators, statesmen, and essayists, in the powerful paper by Dean Geo. McA. Miller, on "The Bible *versus* Plutocracy." This month we publish the second contribution to this series in Chief Justice Walter Clark's powerful unmasking of the injustice, oppression, and corruption of corporate power in the Republic. This paper is one of the noblest and most convincing appeals for justice for the masses of modern times. It is worthy of the greatest statesman of the past. It rings true at every point, and is in perfect alignment with fundamental principles of Democracy. While we regret that the distinguished jurist did not touch upon Direct Legislation, among his suggestions for immediate reformative measures, we note with great satisfaction his demand that the Judiciary and the Senators be elected by direct vote of the people; that the people own and control all public utilities, and that just taxation and the abolition of special privileges be made keystones of the advance movement in politics. No thoughtful American who is at once concerned in the perpetuation of free institutions, in averting a Revolution of Force, and in securing justice for all the toilers, can afford to overlook this masterly utterance from one of the ablest and most distinguished representatives of the American Judiciary. Chief Justice Clark is a ripe scholar, the author of a number of important legal works, and for years he has been a contributor to leading American periodicals, such as *THE ARENA*, *North American Review*, *Harpers Magazine*, *Magazine of American History*, and *The American Law Review*. In 1889 he was elected Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, and a year ago, after one of the most hotly contested campaigns in the history of the Judiciary of North Carolina, Justice Clark swept the state for the office of Chief Justice, being elected by over 60,000 majority. The opposition was headed by the American Tobacco Trust and reinforced by the corporations and monopolies who justly fear the incorruptible Judge and clear-seeing statesman.

DR. NEWTON'S FINE STUDY OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON:—Seldom is it the privilege of a magazine to present to its readers so fine and discriminating a study of the life and character of a great man as that which we publish this month in the study of Ralph Waldo Emerson, by the Rev. R. Heber Newton. The Concord thinker

was one of the greatest ethical philosophers of any age. He was one of the high-priests of American literature, a poet in a very true sense, and above all else his life was one of the purest, sanest, noblest, and most simple that has glorified the earth since the great Nazarene trod the sands of Judea. It is difficult to estimate the value, the inspiration, and the spiritual exaltation that comes into the thought-world of him who is privileged to peruse so fine and comprehensive a study of so elevating a subject as that presented by Dr. Newton this month. And how restful it is, after the surfeit of lives of men of blood and iron and the nauseating adulations by the conventional press of the money lords who through gambling, special privilege, and cunning have acquired vast fortunes, to come into the atmosphere of the simple and serene poet, philosopher, and typical democrat of New England. No more important message has been given to the young men and women of America to-day than that found in the compass of this essay, treated so effectively by the broad-minded Episcopal divine. This paper is the opening article in a series of studies of lives of the truly great—those who have helped the world onward and who represent the aristocracy of moral and mental excellence.

**PLUTOCRACY'S LATEST DEMAND:**—No more important political contribution has appeared in the pages of an American review in months than the masterly paper which we present in this issue, from the scholarly pen of the Hon. Wharton Barker, A.M., of Philadelphia. The author is admirably qualified for the work he has so ably performed in this discussion. In 1863, although he was only seventeen years of age, he commanded a company of colored soldiers and helped to organize the Third United States Colored Troops. In 1866 he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1869 received from his alma mater the degree of Master of Arts. After leaving the university he became a member of the banking firm of Barker Brothers & Company, where he gained a wide and intimate knowledge and experience of finance. In 1878 he was appointed financial agent of the Russian government in the United States, and was entrusted by the Czar with the building of four cruisers for the Russian navy. He has been prominently connected with many of the leading and successful business enterprises in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, and for years he has been the owner and editor of the *Weekly American*.

Many political crimes of gigantic proportion have been perpetrated since the rise of corporate power in the republic, and the influence and control of organized wealth and class interests have been dominating factors in government; but we doubt if anything has yet been consummated by the national government at the demand of a small but interested class half so potential for evil as the legislation so urgently demanded by the banking interests, and especially by J. P. Morgan and his friends on the one hand and the New York City Bank, or the Standard Oil Bank as it is popularly known, on the other. Mr. Barker sounds a note of warning to statesmen and the people, though it is highly

probable that the president in this case, as on various occasions when corporate wealth and public interests have conflicted, will not jeopardize his nomination by throwing down the gauntlet to the Wall Street gamblers and the creatures of privilege. Indeed, we shall be much surprised if Senator Aldrich, the father-in-law of young Rockefeller, does not succeed in winning a decisive victory for plutocracy. Yet the day of reckoning will come. Already signs are not wanting which indicate that it may come much more speedily than the money-changers in the temple of democracy imagine; and this statesmanlike and luminous paper by Mr. Barker will do much toward opening the eyes of the people on one of the most important subjects of the hour. It has been well observed that whoever controls the finances of a nation has the people of that nation in his power; and the legislation of recent years and that contemplated at the present time will effectively place the finances of the nation in the hands of a relatively small class whose headquarters are in Wall Street and whose gambling in stocks belongs for the most part to that class of gaming known as playing with loaded dice.

**COMMISSIONER INGRAM ON MUNICIPAL LIGHTING:**—It is the purpose of *THE ARENA* each month to present one or more practical papers on the great fundamental principles relating to the success of democracy or republican government. At the present time, next to the question of securing to the people the popular government contemplated by the fathers, through changes and modifications which altered conditions necessitate, no question is of more immediate and vital importance than the public ownership of public utilities. In all recent investigations of political corruption in municipal and state governments, it has been shown that in the great majority of cases the debauching of the people's servants, the betrayal of the communities, and the high-handed robbery of the people have been consummated by the public service companies or the corporations operating public utilities. Leaving out of consideration all motives of economy and expediency, as well as the fundamental principle that the people in a popular government should operate all public utilities, the question of purity of government alone would demand the immediate abolition of private ownership and control of the natural monopolies. In this number of *THE ARENA* we give one of the most able and convincing papers that has been prepared in recent years, demonstrating the practical value as well as the importance of municipal ownership of public lighting plants. It has been prepared by the Hon. Frederick F. Ingram, Commissioner of Public Lighting in Detroit, and is a paper that should be carefully read by all reformers and friends of republican government.

**AN EDUCATOR'S PLEA FOR A HOME-MAKERS' COLLEGE:**—Our new series of papers on Twentieth Century Education, by eminent and authoritative thinkers, is opened in this issue by Professor Oscar Chrisman's deeply thoughtful discussion of "Education for the

Home." Prof. Chrisman holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena, and that of Master of Arts from the Indiana State University. He is a member of the faculty of the Ohio State University, and as our readers will see, is a deep, bold, and progressive thinker who discusses education fundamentally and broadly. The subject considered is one of the most vital themes that confront the educators of the twentieth century—a subject that cannot fail to deeply interest all readers of *THE ARENA*.

**PROFESSOR MAXEY ON LAWLESSNESS:**—Professor Maxey's papers are always timely, bright, and thoroughly readable. This month he discusses "Mob Rule" in a logical and statesmanlike manner, appealing, as do most of the writers for *THE ARENA*, to the basic principles of justice, reason, and right.

**HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN ON THE PEOPLE'S PARTY:**—The reactionary element in the Democratic party threatens to recapture the organization and nominate a candidate as acceptable to corporation interests as the candidate the Republicans will nominate. In view of this contingency, leading representatives of the two wings of the People's Party recently met in Denver, Colorado, and formed a coalition of forces to fight for the central demands of the Omaha Platform. This meeting has attracted general attention to the People's Party, making the discussion by Ex-United States Senator, William V. Allen, on the necessity of the People's Party a most interesting and timely topic. Ex-Senator Allen is without question, the ablest leader in the People's Party. When in the United States Senate he ranked among the ablest debaters, and his conspicuous ability was freely recognized by the opposition.

**A GREAT SCULPTOR ON THE DIGNITY OF LABOR:**—One of the principal ethical features of this number is Mr. Elwell's contribution on the importance of labor in the development of the individual. The truths he impresses are timely, as everywhere we see a tendency to look down upon manual toil and to, so far as possible, avoid it as something degrading rather than ennobling. Mr. Elwell is Curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Arts. He is also one of the foremost American sculptors. Among his many famous works may be mentioned his "Dickens and Little Nell," representing Charles Dickens and Little Nell, which after being exhibited at the World's Fair at Chicago was awarded a gold medal by the Philadelphia Art Club and subsequently was purchased by the Fairmount Art Association of Philadelphia. "Diana and the Lion," or "Intelligence Subduing Brute Force," was also exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair and later found a place in the Gallery of Modern Masters in the Art Institute of Chicago. A bust of Levi P. Morton which adorns the Senate Chamber in the United States Capitol; a heroic equestrian statue of General Hancock, now

occupying a conspicuous place on the battlefield of Gettysburg; "Egypt Awakening;" "Mary Magdalen;" a bust of Robert Collyer; a bas-relief of Edwin Booth; "The Origin of Religion," and "The New Life" are other notable creations that have been widely praised by the best and most discriminating artists. Mr. Elwell was born and reared in Concord, Massachusetts, at the time when Emerson, Alcott and Thoreau were powerful personalities in that beautiful and historic town. His natural idealistic tastes were greatly stimulated by the intellectual atmosphere which surrounded his youth; but the person of all others who most beneficently influenced his early life was Louisa M. Alcott. She became his foster mother, and, leading him through her own thought-world, unfolded the beauties of goodness. The deep spiritual ideals received by the boy from the gifted author were a shield and a buckler to him in his student days in Paris and elsewhere, and have greatly aided in making him a positive moral power in the community.

#### THE HOUSING OF UNATTACHED WOMEN WORKERS:—

The new conscience which is stirring society in various directions and which is the hope of the republic, finds voice in a very interesting paper published in this issue entitled "A Neglected Phase of the Housing Problem." The movement that has been successfully inaugurated to meet this very real want in New York City is most encouraging and because of its practical and financial success will doubtless lead to similar movements in all of our great cities, the result of which cannot fail to be salutary.